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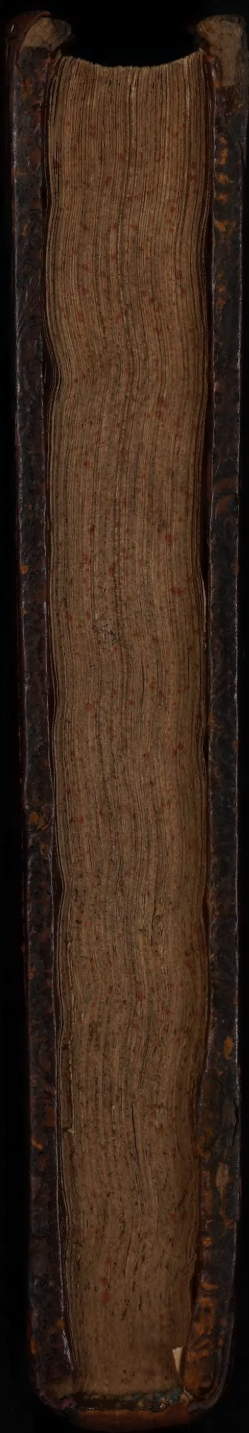
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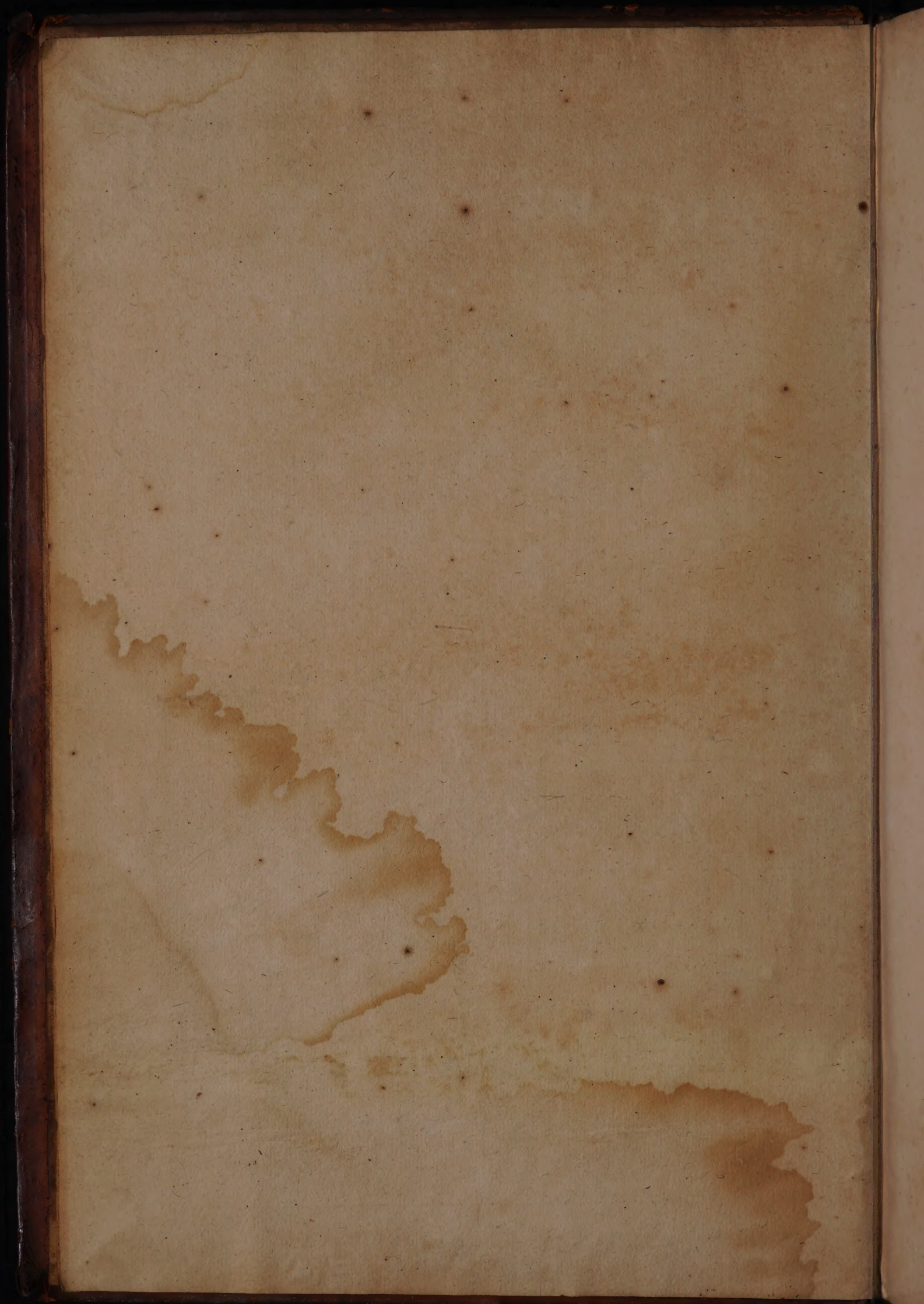




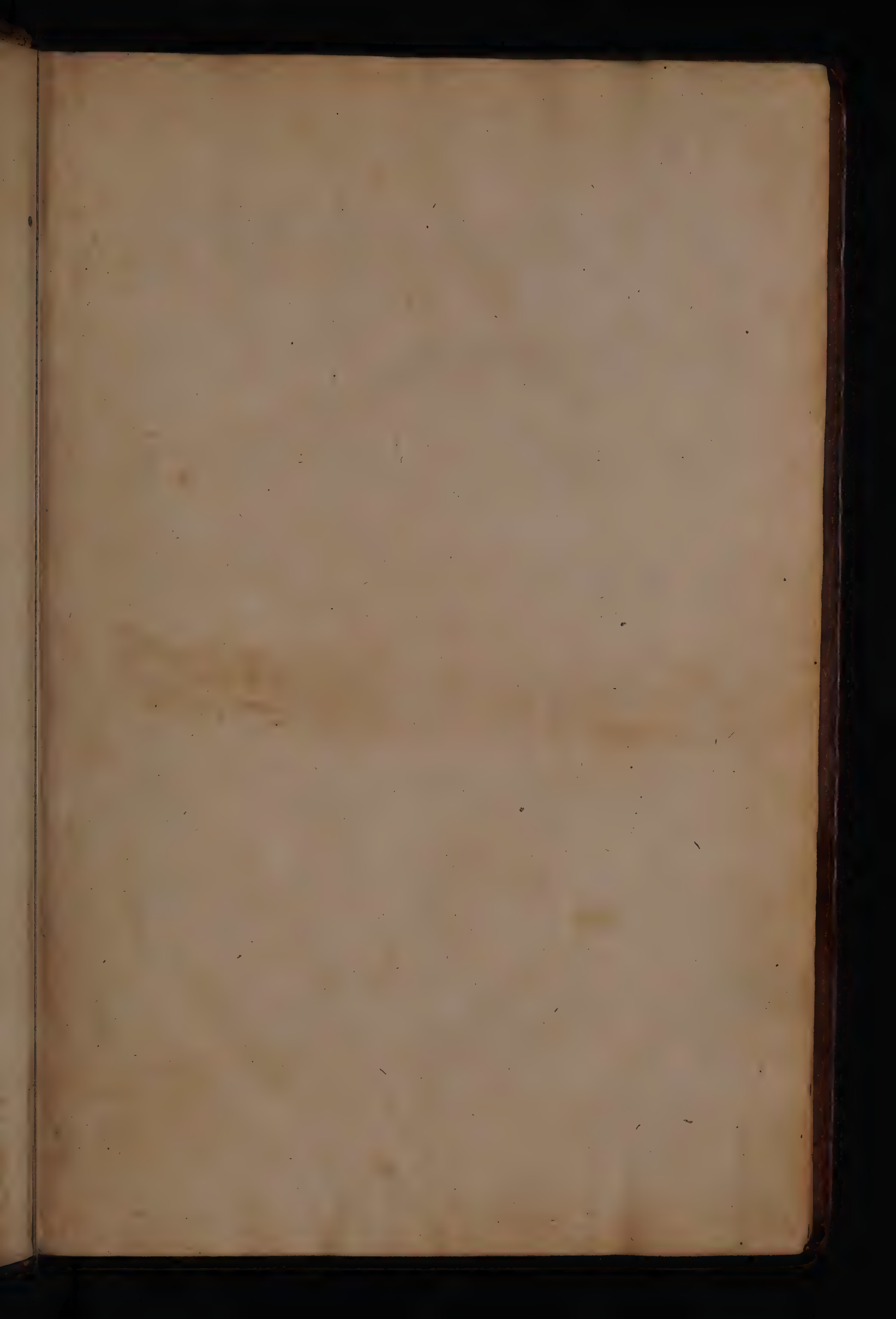






















*J<sup>m</sup>* *Jul<sup>se</sup>*

THE  
HISTORY  
OF

Great Britain,

BEING  
THE LIFE AND REIGN  
OF

King JAMES

THE FIRST,

RELATING

To what passed from his first Access to  
the Crown, till his Death.

By ARTHUR WILSON, Esq.



LONDON,

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sold at the Sign of the *White Lion* near *Saint Paul's*  
little North-door. 1653.



THE  
HISTORY

OF  
GREAT BRITAIN

AND  
WELSH

AND  
THE FIRST

OF THE







# THE PROEME.

**I** Am not ignorant, or insensible, from what *Precipice*, and into what *Gulf* I am falling; not like one in a *Dream*, who starts at the *horror* of the *Object*, which his own *imagination* creates: But deeply affected with those serious and real impressions, which *Time* and *Experience* (the two great *Luminaries* of *Reason*) have fixt upon me. Methinks I see the various, cloudy, and sad distorted Fancies of these *Times*, (that flutter up and down betwixt the *Twilight* of *Ignorance*, and *Self-conceitedness*) bandy themselves against this *Work*; led on by *Prejudice*, which they muster up, and gather together, haply from the *dross* of those *Fragments*, or *vapours* of *Story*, that (like crude, and undigested Matter) have something tainted that precious *Order*, which *Truth* (the *Commandress* of the *Soul*) loves to appear, and be admired in. Making it a *Crime* even to name *Kings*; as if from that *Name* nothing could result, but such dreadful *Apparitions* as would blast and throw an odious *tincture* upon them, to the defacing and besmearing of *Virtue* and *Innocence*; when these will sit *Triumphing* upon a *Throne*, in despite of



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*Envy*, pleading their own *Cause*; the *Beams* of that *Majesty* being too bright and splendid to be overcast with the *Mantle* of *Malice*, though clouded and interwoven with all the false *Pretences* she can put on.

And yet I see no *Reason* why *Princes* (towing in the height of their own *Power*) should think themselves so far above ordinary *Mortals*, that their *Actions* are to be incomprehensible. This is but a weakness, contracted in the high place they look down from, which makes all things beneath them seem little, yea very little to them. And though *Men* at so great a distance from them, are not able to discern every particular *Plume* that carries them about, yet their often *Circumgyrations*, and *Turnings*, are *Obvious*, many times stooping after a mean and inconsiderable *Quarry*: By which they shew, that they are carried up by the *Airy Body* of *Admiration*, and that those gross *Materials* which tend to their *Composition*, are as subject to distempered *Passions*, as the meanest of the *People*.

Yet as they live in a *Sphere* above others, if their *Minds* be suitable to that *Height*, if they aim more at *Piety* than *Policy*, if *Religion* be set up in their *Hearts* for her *Humbleness*, rather than her *Ornaments*, more for her *Beauty*, than *Bravery*; If *Mercy* and *Justice* (instead of *Wild Beasts*) be Supporters of the *Throne*, and *Ensigns* of *Royalty*; If *Truth* in her plain *Attire* (the loveliest *Object* of the *Soul*) be not turned out of the *Presence*, and her painted *Enemy* sit perching under the *Cloth* of *Estate*; If *Vertue* and *Goodness* be venerated from an internal *Principle* in them, rather than the specious outside of them: Who will not admire, and reverence such *Majesty*? But when they shall so much debase that sublime and supereminent *Region* they are placed in, and come down below that *Dignity*, to drive a *Trade* of petty things, thinking it a great *Conquest* to deceive; protesting to do what they



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they never intend, and intending what they rather should protest against: To what low *Condition* do they bring themselves?

We see all the *Motions* of *Superior Bodies*, in what excellent *Order* and *Perfection* they move; and if some *Exhalation* starts up among them, from gross and putrid *Matter*, whose *Course* is not yet known, what horrid trepidations bring they with them? and what *Prodigious Calamities* are they the *fore-runners* of? Yet they hold not that *Station* long, but blaze a little there, and then extinguish; and all that can be said of them, is, That we know not for what mischievous intent these *Meteors* did appear: Whereas the other *Celestial Bodies* beget no wonder, are no *Prodigies*, but keep a constant *Course* in their own *Spheres*, and are not contaminated with things below them, yet they retain a *Powerful Influence* over them. So *Princes* should always shine in *Glory*, and a *Noble Soul*, that loaths to soyl it self in sordid things, is the true *splendor* of it. But when they grovel here for trash and trumpery, and trade away that gallant stock of *Love* housed in their *Peoples Hearts*, for some false *Coin*, minted by *Passion*, mutable *Affection*, or misled *Reason*, they do degrade themselves. And then the only difference betwixt a *King*, and a mean *Man*, is, That the one, by his *Trade*, cosens a few; the other a great many, but himself most.

Thus we can look up to things above us, easily discerning the Cracks and Flaws in Vessels of the purest *Metal*, by that *lustre* that comes from them; but if we cast an impartial *Eye* into our own *Bosoms*, we may doubtless discover in our selves so much of *Human Frailty*, even of a grosser *Nature*, that may make *Pity* the *Mistriss* of our *Passion*, rather than *Pride*, and mourn for our own, rather than glory in the *Miscarriages* of Others. *Shrouds* are the fittest *Ornaments* for



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dead Bodies; and who will rip up wounds that Time hath closed? A little Urn will hold a great Mans Ashes; and why should we bedribble with our Pens, the Dust that rests there? there is now no fear that it will rise, and fly upon our faces.

Histories are like Anatomies, especially when they reflect on Persons: He must be a skilful Artist, that can dissect a Body well. If Ignorance or Malice attempts to hack, hew, or bespatter it, 'twill be most inhuman and barbarous; it must be done by a gentle hand, with Authority and Knowledge, lest instead of discovering the Similar Parts, they mangle and deface them, and so dissect and open only their own follies; When the true end of this dissection, is, to shew the ways and passages of the Body, where Obstructions have been, where Diseases have bred, and by this Pattern learn to remove the accretion of bad Humors, and apply fitting Remedies for prevention of such Evils: So History must not cauterise, and slash with Malice, those Noble Parts, the true end of whose discovery is to better Mankind. For Examples of baseness, and unworthiness, if truly and genuinely related, may deter and hinder the violent Career of such as mind no other happiness than what this vapour of vain-glory can contribute; and esteem a good Name more among men, than acceptance with God. But yet in these Relations, some grains of Human infirmity must in reason be allowed to Greatness, because they have the means to more Temptations. And though there are very many guilty, and many Men may justly suffer by the Law, yet there are but few allowed to be dissected. Therefore he that is too rash in the Censure of others, snatching Reports from the lips of Fame, and venting them for Truths (without some probability or knowledg to enlighten and direct) digs in the Bowels of another Man, and wounds himself.

But the Metaphor still holds; for as the dissimilar parts of the body, head, hands, feet, &c. are apparently known; and the Similar parts, as veins, sinews, nerves, &c.

are



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are easily discovered ; so the *motions* and *operations* of the more secret and hidden parts are controverted, and hard to find out, as the *Circulation* of the Blood, &c. Yet we find the effects of it tend to life and preservation, the *end* ; though there be some dispute in the *motion* or means to it. So in this *Work* ; the chief part of what is written, is either apparently *known*, or easily *discovered*, and those things that never saw the *Light* yet, may be collected, and inferred, finding their *Operations* tend to one and the same end : For I expect all men will not be of my *mind*, and look to be *Anatomized* my self by the *Hand* of *Opinion* and blinded *Passion*, that strike at whatsoever comes cross to them. Yet this I will say boldly, I have made *Truth* my *aim*, and though I fly high, and may rove, I am sure not to *light* very far from the *Mark*.

For this *Piece* is not culled out of several *Authors*, of intricate *Opinions*, and different *Judgments*, as a confused, and ruffled *Skein*, where, with difficulty, an useful *Thread* may be pickt out, which *Livie* complains of, and wonders at in the *Authors* that wrote before him. But these like *Simples* were gathered as they sprung up in the *Garden* of the *Times* ( where *Weeds* and *Flowers* grow together ) with intention to compose something for the *Publick* health ; for above thirty years before the *Ingredients* were mingled, in that long *Series* of *Time*, weighing every *Grain* and *Scruple*, that there might be a due proportion, and quantity as well as quality of them for the *Composition* of it ; and this not only acted by a natural *Propensity*, but I may say the hand of *Providence* brought many things to my knowledg, that were not in my hopes or thoughts to procure. And I confess there are some things in it may seem bitter, and sharp to some, and though they be so, the *Body* many times requires such *Medicines*, to dispel and check the peccant *humours*, and I doubt not but it will do the more good to those that are distempered : But *sound* and *gallant Minds* have no need, and are above the *operations* of it. As *Titus Vespasian* said,  
when



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when one spake ill of him, *Ego cum nihil faciam dignum propter quod contumeliâ afficiar, mendacia nihil curo*; He was above false Reports, and if they were true, he had more reason to be angry with himself, than the Relator. The good Emperor *Theodosius* commanded no man should be punished that spake against him; for what was spoken lightly was to be laught at, what spitefully, to be pardoned, what angerly, to be pittied; and if truly, he would thank him for it. Nor did I ever read, that *Tacitus* was blamed for personating *Tiberius* Diffimulation, *Nero's* Cruelty, *Seianus* Pride, *Livia's* and *Messalina's* Adulteries, nay, *Domitians* Tyranny and Baseness, though he was his Creature advanced by him. But they that intend Truth, must take this Counsel of his, *Sed incorruptam fidem professis, nec amore quisquam, & sine odio dicendus est*; they must write without the passions of Love or Hate. And I am sure I have as little cause to be partial as He, though I have more to inlarge my self in Apology, having more Adversaries to incounter with; He living in (as he saith) *Rara temporum felicitate*, where Men might think what they pleased, and speak what they thought; Whereas these Times are as full of perplexed and disastrous Divisions, as the calamities of a Civil War (when the poyson of Malice lies raging and foaming in mens breasts, like the troubled Sea after a Tempest) can possibly produce. And this Dis-union springs from that stock of Pride in us, when we put a greater valuation upon our Opinions, stamp, and made current by Custom, than upon Reason, that Regent of the Understanding, that should bring all things in obedience to it.

Nor can I discover all the Contrivances hatcht, and brooded in the secret corners of Princes Councils. All things are not revealed at a time. This Ground-work may serve for others to build on, and 'tis easier to add to a Pattern than to make one.

The Jews, to whom the Oracles of Truth were committed, calculated their Times and Seasons by Lunary motions,



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tions, the Solar were found out long after by Pythagoras, and now we have new apprehensions inserted by Copernicus, that may be as useful, tending to one time and end, though various ways. So by degrees, there may be greater Discoveries made, than is yet here related. And what is doubtful, give me leave with Tacitus only to touch at, who (speaking of Domitians attempting to get the Power of the German Army under his command) saith, *Qua cogitatione Bellum adversus Patrem cogitaverit, an opes, viresque adversus fratrem in incerto fuit.* Whether he intended War against his Father by it, or to strengthen himself against his Brother, when time served, is not certainly known; for who can dive into the Abyss of Princes intentions? And in another place speaking of Domitian's juggling with Agricola, *Sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio Principis fictum ac compositum est.* Whether this were true, or surmised, probably, as correspondent to the Prince's disposition, I cannot affirm. Yet where he finds out his extravagancies (of Knowledg) he asserts them punctually. So some things in Princes actions may be left to conjecture, if there be any ingenuity in the Declaration of them. And I hope some will come after me, that will imbellish, and perfect the way with a more cunning and exquisite hand, though I must confess I have done my best, dressing this Story with the best Ornaments I could, to intice, and allure the Reader, leaving out many long and tedious Discourses, that often damp the Spirits, and make them Loiterers. And it were to be wished, that Philosophy had some intermixtures of History; and that Divinity (the Mistress of Arts) were temptingly adorned, that she might intice her Lovers the more to observe her. The Jesuits dress their Morality and History with all the Eloquence they can, and cunningly mix and intermingle with it, the fine Baits of Popish Theology, for people to nibble on, hoping to gain them by such tempting Allurements. And I am not of Marcus Aurelius's mind, that thank't Rusticus, that by his example, he had given over the



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the study of *Elegant*, and fine *Language*; unless he reflected upon such crabbed pieces, as are interlarded with huge *lushious* words, that give no good rellish to the *sense*, or such high affected *strains* (wherein words are crowded) that serve rather to amuse than inform the *Understanding*. But *Elegancies* in expression (though I am not able to reach them my self) I admire in others, especially if they run in a smooth Chanel, and keep that mediocrity that they overflow not the bank.

But while I am pleading for *Mediocrity*, I find my self in a *Labyrinth* (betwixt too little *Pamphlets*, our *Kings Court*, and his *Kitchen*) and I know not by what *Clue* to avoid it. They are like two extremes, *Scylla*, and *Charybdis*, therefore to pass by, and not be indangered by them, I will shape my *Course* in the *middle*, betwixt both, and *Truth* shall be my *Gale*: For I protest, without passion, I lean to no *Faction* or side; but set down plainly what my *Conscience* and *Knowledg* dictates to me. Nor do I intend to asperse *Noble Families*; Where is there one (as that famous *Orator*, the Lord *Verulam*, said) that like a fair *Pomegronate* hath not some *corrupted Cornel*? And may not that be pickt out from the rest, but it must taint them all? And how can *Truth* be known, but by the good *savour* it leaves behind? For a good *Name* is like a precious *Oyntment*. Never any thing of *History* should be left to *Posterity*, if men may not be spoken of when they are dead. And if their *Actions* be genuinely related, there will be an intermixture of Good and Bad, professedly allowed, according to the good or ill *Comportment* of the person presented (though, as I said, tenderly to be dealt with) for *Man* is of no *Angelical* nature. But it is easie to daub over the foulest *Deformities*, and make them appear *Beautiful*: For as *Ulpian* said of the *Laws* of his time, so I say of *Historical Relations*, *Nulla veritas ita diserte ulla de re cavere potest, ut malitiosa calliditas locum fraudi non inveniatur*. But this stirring of the *Waters*, is only to make the *Truth* less perspicuous, when time shall settle them,



## *The Proeme.*

them, all things will appear clearly. *Records*, and publick *Actions*, within *Memory*, cannot sink, though the *Dregs* and *muddy water* (thrown in to trouble them) may. But I will steer steady, and avoid them both, hoping to arrive at some happy *Port*, if I can pass the *Shallows of Ignorance*, or *Rocks of Prejudice*, that lie in the *Way*.

T H E



The Authors PICTURE drawn by  
Himself.

**A**s others print their Pictures, I will place  
My Mind in Frontispiece, plain as my Face;  
And every Line that is here drawn, shall be  
To pencil out my Souls Physiognomy,  
Which on a Radiant height is fixt. My Brow  
Frowns not for these Miscarriages below,  
Unless I mean to limit, and confine,  
Th' Almighty Wisdom to conceits of mine.  
Yet have no envious Eyes against the Crown,  
Nor did I strive to pull the Mitre down;  
Both may be good; But when Heads swell, men say,  
The rest of the poor Members pine away,  
Like Ricket-Bodies, upwards over-grown,  
Which is no wholesome Constitution.

The grave mild Presbyter I could admit,  
And am no Foe to th' Independent yet;  
For I have levell'd my intents to be  
Subservient unto Reason's Sovereignty;  
And none of these State-Passions e'r shall rise  
Within my Brain; to rule, and tyrannize:  
For by Truth's sacred Lamp (which I admire)  
My Zeal is kindled, not Fanatick fire.

But I'll avoid those vapours, whose swoln spight,  
And foaming Poyson, would put out this light.  
Vain Fuellers! they think (who doth not know it)  
Their light's above 't, because their walk's below it.  
Such blazing Lights like Exhalations climb,  
Then fall, and their best matter proves but slime:  
For where conceited Goodness finds no want,  
Their Holiness becomes Luxuriant.

Now my great trouble is, that I have shown  
Other mens faults, with so many of my own;  
And all my care shall be, to shake off quite  
The Old Mans load, for him whose burthen's light,  
And grow to a full stature, till I be  
Form'd like to Christ, or Christ be form'd in me.

Such Pieces are Grav'n by a Hand Divine.  
For which, I'll give my God this Heart of mine.

Contemnit linguas vita probanda malas.



THE  
LIFE & REIGN  
OF  
JAMES  
THE  
FIRST KING  
OF  
Great Britain.



THE various hand of *Time* began now to sheath the *Sword of War*, that had been long disputing the *Controversie*, which *Religion* and *Policy* (that *Princes* mix together) had for many years so fiercely maintained. The wearing out of that old, but glorious, and most happy *Piece of Sovereignty*, the late *Queen*, bating the *Spanish Violence*, and ending with the *Irish-Rebellion*, and submission of *Tirone*, as if the old *Genius of Iron-handed War* were departed, and a *New* one Crowned with a *Palm of Peace*, had taken possession of the *English Nation*; *James* the sixth, King of *Scotland*, was proclaimed King of *England*. For though *Princes* that find here a *Mortal Felicity*, love not the noise of a *Successor* in their life-time, yet they are willing (for the *Peace* of their people) to have *One*, when they can hear no more of it. That which the *Queen* could not indure from others, *She* was well pleased to express her self, and bequeath in her *last Will*, as a *Legacy* to this, then *Happy Nation*. He was thirty six years of *Age* when he came to the *Crown*. How dangerous the passage had been from his very *Infancy* to his *Middle Age*, is not only written in many *Histories*, but the untamed and untractable *Spirits* of most of that *Nation*, are a sufficient *witness* and *Record*.

B

The

I

An. Reg. 1.

An. Christi

1603





An. Reg. 1.

An. Christi

1603.



The wise *Queen* found many petty Titles, but none of that Power; any other Hand that should have reacht for the *Crown*, might a caught a *Cloud of Confusion*; and those *Supporters*, and *Props*, that held up her *Greatness* (loth to submit to *Equals*) made *Scaffolds* to his *Triumphs*. In the Wane, or last Quarter of the late *Queen*, the *Court Motions* tended (by an *Oblique Aspect*) towards this Northern *Star*, and some of her great *Council* in her *Presence*, would glance at the King of *Scots* as her *Successor*, which would make her break into *Passion*, saying, Was this imputed to *Essex* as a *Crime*, and is it less in you? Yea, *Cecil* himself, held his *Correspondencies*, which he was once like to be trapt in. For the *Queen* taking the Air upon *Black-Heath* by *Greenwich*, a Post summoned her to enquire from what Quarter his business came, and hearing from *Scotland*, She staid her Coach to receive the *Pacquet*; but the *Secretary*, Sir *Robert Cecil*, (being in the Coach with Her) fearful, that some of his secret *Conveyances* might be discovered, having an active *Wit*, calls for a knife suddainly to open it, lest put offs, and delays, might beget *Suspition*, and when he came to cut it, he told the *Queen*, it looked, and smelt ill-favouredly, coming out of many nasty *Budgets*, and was fit to be opened, and aired before She saw it; which reason meeting with her disaffection to ill *Scents*, hindred her smelling out his underhand *Contrivances*.

Secretary *Cecil* Proclaimed  
King *James*.

But now he may do it openly, for he was the first that publickly read, and proclaimed the late *Queens Will*; Posts are sent in hast, yet in so calm and quiet a manner, as if the loss of so pretious a *Mistris* had stupified the people. And now the *Great-ones* strive who shall be most *Obsequious*, and Court their *Happy Hopes*. That *Party* that had been *Opposite* to the late *Earl of Essex* (whose death as some thought shortned the *Queens* life) strove to ingratiate themselves, by suppressing them, that had any *Relation* to him, assuring the King (that always counted him his *Martyr*) that he aimed at the *Crown* himself, and *Princes* apt to be jealous soon take such impressions. And now I have stirr'd the *Ashes* of great *Essex*, I must revive his memory with this short *Character*; for *Reports* flying upon the *Airy* wing of the *Times*, have variously exalted, or depressed him, as the *Serene* for him, or the *cloudy fancy* against him, waved up and down. He had a *Gallant and Noble Spirit*, full of *Urbanity* and innate *Courtesie*, which too much took the *Popular Eye*, and being a great ingrosser of *Fame*, it procured him many *Enemies*, which made his Spirit boil into *passion*, and that was more suitable to his *Enemies Designs* than his own, for they lighted their candle by his fire, and this heat being blown by some fiery *Spirits* about him, gave to the goodness of his *Nature*, a tincture of *Revenge*, which his *Enemies* made reflect upon the *Queen*, so that



that the Coal he strove to bring to burn his Enemies Nests, kindled his own Funeral Pile.

But our King coming through the North, (Banquetting and Feasting by the way) the applause of the people in so obsequious and submissive a manner (still admiring *Change*) was checkt by an honest plain *Scotsmen* (unused to hear such humble Acclamations) with a *Prophetical expression*; *This people will spoil a good King.* The King as unused, so tired with *Multitudes*, especially in his *Hunting* (which he did as he went) caused an inhibition to be published, to restrain the people from *hunting him*. Happily being fearful of so great a *Concourse*, as this *Novelty* produced, the old *Hatred* betwixt the *Borderers* not yet forgotten, might make him apprehend it to be of a greater extent: though it was generally imputed to a desire of enjoying his *Recreations* without interruption.

At *Theobalds*, Secretary *Cecil's House*, the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, the Lord *Buckhurst* Treasurer, the Earl of *Nottingham* Admiral, and others of the *Council* to the deceased *Queen*, met him; and they with him found the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marr*, the Lord *Hume*, and the Lord *Kinloss*. These with others were made of his *Privy Council*. The *Bishops* forgot not to strengthen themselves, and their *Party*, against their opposites, the *Non-Conformists*, who had gotten new courage upon their hopes of the Kings compliance with them, and the King to please both sides, went in a smooth way betwixt them, at first, not leaving out the third *Party*, the *Popish*, the most dangerous, whom he closed with also, by entertaining into his *Councils* the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Henry Howard*, the one Son, the other Brother to the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who would have been his Father, but became a Sufferer for his Mother: The one a plain-hearted man, the other of a subtile and fine Wit, of great Reading and Knowledg, excellent for outward *Courtskip*, famous for secret *Insinuation*, and cunning *Flattery*; the first a suspected, (though it was otherwise) the last a known *Papist*, bred up so from his *Infancy*, yet then converted (as he pretended) by the King, being the closest way to work his own ends. On these he heaped *Honours*, making the Son Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Brother Earl of *Northampton*. And this *Gentleness* of the King to the *Popish* party, was so pleasant to them, that they sucked in the sweet hopes of alteration in *Religion*, and drunk so deep thereof, that they were almost intoxicated.

Now every man that had but a spark of *Hope*, struck fire to light himself in the way to Advancement, though it were to the *Consumption* both of his *Estate* and *Being*. The *Court* being a kind of *Lottery*, where men that venture much may draw a Blank, and such as have little may get the Prize. Those whose

An. Reg. 1.

An. Christi

1603

The King comes to Theobalds.

Changes beget hopes.



An. Reg. I.

An. Christi  
1603.A Conspiracy  
against the  
King.A censure up-  
on it.

Hopes were almost quenched, like Water cast upon Lime, burn inward till it breaks out into Flame; so hard it is for uncomposed *Spirits* (missing their aims) to settle upon the Basis of solid Reason. The Earl of Southampton, covered long with the Ashes of great Essex his Ruins, was sent for from the Tower, and the King lookt upon him with a smiling countenance, though displeasing happily to the new Baron of Effingham, Sir Robert Cecil; yet it was much more to the Lords, Cobham and Grey, and Sir Walter Rawleigh, who were forbidden their attendance. This damp upon them, being *Spirits* full of acrimony, made them break into Murmur, then into Conspiracy, associating themselves with two *Romish Priests* (men that could not live upon lingring Hopes) and other discontented persons, which every Change produces. The ground of the Design was to set up the Lady Arabella (a Branch sprung from the same stem by another Line) and to alter Religion and Government; disposing already to themselves the principal places of Honour and Profit. The Lord Grey should get leave to transport two thousand men into Holland, with whom he should seise upon the King and Prince; Sir Walter Rawleigh was to treat with Count Arembergh for procuring of Moneys; and Cobham to go to the Arch-Duke and the King of Spain, to perswade their Assistance. This Embrion proved abortive, and they brought their Plea to excuse their attempting it, as compleat a One; That the King was not yet crowned. The Arraignment was at Winchester, where strong proofs meeting weak denyals, they with others were found guilty of High Treason. George Brook, the Lord Cobham's Brother, and the two Priests suffered for it, the rest found Mercy; the King being loth to soil the first steps to his Crown with more blood. But their Pardon carried them to the Tower, where the Lord Grey some years after dyed, and in his Death extinguished his Family. The Lord Cobham, Sir Griffin Markham, and others, discharged of imprisonment, lived miserable and poor, Cobham at home, and the rest abroad. And Rawleigh while he was a Prisoner, having the Idea of the World in his contemplation, brought it to some perfection, in his excellent and incomparable History, but when Liberty turned it to Action, it taught him to roam, so, as the event proved fatal to him.

This Conspiracy put on such a face, that few or none could discover, or know what to make of it: That the muddy waters were stir'd, was apparent, but it was with such a mixture, that little could be visible in it. The Lord Grey, Cobham, and Sir Walter Rawleigh were Protestants, why should they strive to alter Religion, though the Priests, Markham, Bainham, and others might? But it seems they joyned together in a Politick way, every one intending his own ends; Discontent being the Ground-work, upon which they built this flight Superstructure,



perstructure; that being huddled together, could not stand long. *Rawleigh's* greatest Accuser was a Letter of *Cobhams*, which some say after he denyed to be his hand. Some of the Conspirators (it may be) desired to seem formidable, venting their Anger so for being slighted; others strove to make themselves so, that they might have the glory of enlarging the *Roman Power*, and they joyned together, thinking their single strength would not prevail. In this *Clowd* looking for *Juno*, they begot a *Monster*, which having neither head nor foot, some part lived, the other dyed.

While these were provoked with *Neglects*, others were encouraged with *Favours*: Many of the Gentry that came out of *Scotland*, with the King, were advanced to Honours, as well as those he found here; to shew the *Northern* soyl as fruitful that way as the *Southern*; But Knights swarmed in every corner; the *Sword* ranged about, and men bowed in obedience to it, more in *Peace* than in *War*; this *Airy Title* blew up many a fair Estate. The *Scots* naturally, by long converse, affecting the *French Vanity*, drew on a Garb of Gallantry (meeting with a plentiful soyl, and an open-handed Prince) The *Englisb*, excellent for imitation, loth to be exceeded in their own Country, maintained their follies at their own charge. All this came accompanied with a great *Plague*, which hapned this year in *London*, whereof above thirty thousand dyed; Yet who will not venture for a *Crown*? For in the heat of it, on the five and twentieth of *July* being the day dedicated to Saint *James*, the King, with his Wife *Queen Anne*, were both crowned at *Westminster*, fulfilling that old Prophecy, or rather Fancy, current among the *Scots* (as they report) before *Edward* the first brought the Royal Chair out of *Scotland*, with the Stone in it, and placed it at *Westminster* to Crown our Kings in. Which Stone some old *Sams* deliver to be the same that *Jacob* rested his head on.

An. Reg. 1.

An. Christi

1603.

The King and  
Queen Crowned.

*Ni fallat Fatum*

*Scoti hunc quocunque locatum*

*Inveniunt lapidem,*

*Regnare tenentur ibidem.*

Englished.

Fate hath design'd,

That wheresoe'r this Stone

The *Scots* shall find,

There they shall hold the Throne.

But how the Stream of Time runs through the Chancel of these Prophetical Fancies, experience shews: For 'tis true, if the



An. Reg. I.

An. Christi

1603.

Prince Henry  
made Knight  
of the Garter.

Tirone comes  
over.

Noblemen  
created.

the *Scots* came so near the *Throne*, as to enjoy the *Stone*; or Chair where the English Kings are Inaugurated; they may hold the *Crown*. But being only grounded upon Conjecture, these Concoits are commonly made up before they are half moulded; or like Abortives, are shaped after they are born.

When these Ceremonies were past, the King retired from this croud of Inflection, gave some admission to Ambassadors; that from all the neighbouring Princes and States came to congratulate his happy Inauguration: For besides the ordinary Ceremony among Princes, their Reason might tell them, that if his Predecessors were able to grapple with the growing Monarchy of him that coveted to be *Universal*; and to assist and relieve her Neighbours and Confederates from his oppression; He would be much more formidable, bringing with him, if nothing else, Bodies of men, Warlike and industrious, hardned with cold and labour, and active in the difficultest attempts (however of late, by what Divine Judgment I know not, utterly disheartned) to be *Helpers*, who were formerly *Hinderers* to all the *English* Expeditions; so that in him they courted their own Conveniences: For certainly, if ever the *English Monarchy* were in its true Glory and Greatness, it was by this Union. But there is a Period set to all Empires.

The Prince, a little before this, was installed Knight of the *Garter*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the young Earl of *Essex*, were restored to the right of Blood and Inheritance; and Honours were conferred so thick, as if the King intended a new kind of Conquest, by a proceeding, that tended to their, and his own Ruin: For, to subdue the greatness of the Nobility (who formerly could sweep such a Party of People to them, with their long trains and dependencies, that they were able to grapple with Kings) He by a multiplicity of them made them cheap and invalid in the Vulgar opinion; For nothing is more destructive to *Monarchy*, than lessening the *Nobility*; upon their decline the *Commons* rise, and *Anarchy* increases.

And now the old *Irish* Rebel *Tirone* coming over (led by his Conqueror the Lord *Monjoy*) had not only Pardon, but Civilities, and all outward expressions to gain him; the edg of the Peoples hatred being abated by a Proclamation, that no man should shew him the least dis-respect. The Lord *Monjoy*, as a reward for his good service, was created Earl of *Devonshire*. And having given way to Creations, they break in upon us like a Deluge. The King being an inexhaustible Fountain of Honour, cannot be drained dry, when other means of gratifying his servants may fail. Those he brought with him wanted means more than Honour, those he found here wanted Honour more than Means; He could, and did supply both to excess. Sir *Robert Cecil*, the first *English* Trumpet that proclaimed him,



him was made Baron of *Effington*, and soon after Viscount *Cranborn*, and Earl of *Salisbury*; Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penshurst*, and not long after Viscount *Lisle*; Sir *William Knowles* Baron of *Graves*, Sir *Edward Wotton* Baron of *Morley*, Sir *Thomas Egerton* (Lord Chancellor) Baron of *Elsmere*, Sir *William Russell* Baron of *Thornagh*, Sir *Henry Grey* Baron of *Grobie*, Sir *John Petre* Baron of *Writtle*, Sir *John Harington* Baron of *Exton*, Sir *Henry D'Envers* Baron of *Dantsey*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard* Baron of *Gerrard Bromely*, Sir *Robert Spencer* Baron of *Worm-Leighton*. The Lord *Buckhurst*, Lord Treasurer, he made Earl of *Dorset*, and his old Servant Sir *George Hume*, Earl of *Dunbar*. These, with *Suffolk* and *Northampton*, were Nobles of the finest metal, and first stamp, and most of them he placed as Jewels about his Throne. But these were but as an *Essay*; for they after grew to such a *Volume*, that some unhappy fancy pasted up a *Pasquil* in *Pauls*, wherein he pretended an *Art* to help weak memories to a competent knowledg of the names of the Nobility.

As the *Papist* was different from the *Protestant Religion* on one side, so was the *Puritan* (as they then called pious and good men) on the other; both which were active to attain their own ends; and the King had the command of himself, not bitterly to oppose, but gently to sweeten their hopes for His: thinking himself unsecure betwixt them. The latter were now solicitous for a more clear *Reformation*. This the *Bishops* opposed, as trenching too much upon them, and the King listened to (having experience of it in *Scotland*) how much it had incroached upon Him: For He thought their dissenting from the established *Government* of the Church, was but to get that *Power* into a great many mens hands, which was now but in one, and that one had dependance upon him, with whom He might better grapple. The *Prelates* distilling this *Maxim* into the King, No *Bishop*, no *Monarch*; so strengthening the *Miter* by the same *Power* that upholds the *Crown*: Yet to satisfy the importunity, a Conference is appointed at *Hampton-Court*, where the *Bishops Opponents*, Doctor *Reynolds*, Doctor *Sparks*, Mr. *Knewstubs*, and Mr. *Chadderton*, men eminent in *Learning* and *Piety*, in themselves, as well as in the opinion of the people, did desire in the name of the rest of their party, That the *Doctrine* of the Church might be preserved in *Purity*; That good and faithful *Pastors* might be planted in all Churches; That Church-Government might be sincerely administered; That the *Book of Common-Prayer* might be fitted to more increase of *Godliness*. Out of some of these *Particulars*, they insisted upon the *Bishops* power of *Confirmation*, which they would have every *Minister* capable of in his own *Parish*. They disputed against the *Cross* in *Baptism*, the *Ring* in *Marriage*, the *Surplice*, the *Oath ex officio*, and other things that stuck with them, which they hoped to get all purged away, because the King was of a

Northern

An. Reg. 1.

An. Christi

1603.

Reformation  
in the Church  
fought for.

Conference at  
Hampton Court.



An. Reg. I.

An. Christi

1603.

Arch-Bishop  
Whitgift dies.

*Northern constitution*, where no such things were practised, not yet having felt the Kings pulse, whom the *Southern Air* of the *Bishops* breaths had so wrought upon, that He himself answers most of their *Demands*: Sometimes gently, applying *Lenitives*, where he found *Ingenuity* (for he was *Learned* and *Eloquent*) other times *Corrosives*, telling them these *Oppositions* proceeded more from stubbornness in *Opinion*, than tenderness of *Conscience*; and so betwixt his *Arguments*, and Kingly *Authority*, menaced them to a *Conformity*, which proved a way of *Silencing* them for the present (and some of them were content to acquiesce for the future) and the King managed this *Discourse* with such power (which they expected not from him, and therefore more danted at) That *Whitgift* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* (though a holy, grave, and pious man) highly pleased with it, with a sugred bait (which *Princes* are apt enough to swallow) said, He was verily persuaded, that the King spake by the Spirit of God. This *Conference* was on the fourteenth of *January*, and this good man expired the nine and twentieth of *February* following, in *David's* fulness of days, leaving a Name like a sweet perfume behind him. And *Bancroft*, a sturdy piece, succeeded him, but not with the same Spirit; for what *Whitgift* strove to do by Sweetness and Gentleness, *Bancroft* did persevere in with Rigour and Severity. Thus the *Bishops* having gotten the *Victory*, strove to maintain it, and though not on the suddain, yet by degrees, they press so hard upon the *Non-conformists* (whom they held under the yoke of a *Law*) that many of them are forced to seek *Foreign Refuge*. They prevailed not only for themselves here, but by their means (not long after) the King looked back into *Scotland*, and put the Keys there again into the *Bishops* hands, unlocking the passage to the enjoyment of their *Temporal Estates*, which swel'd them so high, that in his Sons time, the *women* of *Scotland* pulled them out of their tottering seats.

On the other side, the late *Conspiracy* of *Cobham* and *Grey*, had so chilled the Kings blood, that he begins to take notice of the swarms of *Priests* that flockt into the Kingdom: For though the *Conspirators* were of several *Religions*, yet in their correspondence with *Foreign Princes*, *Religion* was the pretence. For in every alteration of Kingdoms, few are so modest but they will throw in the Hook of their vain *Hopes*, thinking to get something in the troubled *Stream*. The *Jesuits* were not slack (coming with the *Seal of the Fisher*) in spreading their *Nets*; but a *Proclamation* broke through them. The King being contented to let them alone, till they came too near him, willing to comply rather than exasperate; the safety of his own person, made him look to the safety of *Religion*; and to secure both, He found this the best *Remedy*, Declaring, to all the world, the cause of this *Restriction*.

‘ Having



‘ Having (after some time spent in settling the *Politick* affairs  
 ‘ of this Realm) of late bestowed no small labour in composing  
 ‘ certain Differences We found among Our *Clergy*, about *Rites*  
 ‘ and *Ceremonies* heretofore established in this *Church* of *England*,  
 ‘ and reduced the same to such an order and form, as We doubt  
 ‘ not but every *spirit*, that is led only with *piety*, and not with  
 ‘ *humour*, should be therein *satisfied*; It appeared unto Us in de-  
 ‘ bating these *Matters*, that a greater *Contagion* to Our *Religion*  
 ‘ than could proceed from these *light differences*, was *eminent*, by  
 ‘ persons, common Enemies to them both; namely, the great  
 ‘ numbers of *Priests*, both *Seminaries* and *Jesuits*, abounding in  
 ‘ this *Realm*, as well of such as were here before Our coming to  
 ‘ the *Crown*, as of such as have resorted hither since, using their  
 ‘ *Functions* and *Professions* with greater liberty than heretofore  
 ‘ they durst have done; partly upon a vain confidence of some  
 ‘ Innovation in *matters* of *Religion*, to be done by Us, which We  
 ‘ never intended, nor gave any man cause to suspect, and part-  
 ‘ ly from the assurance of Our general *Pardon*, granted accord-  
 ‘ ing to the *Custom* of Our *Progenitors*, at Our *Coronation*, for  
 ‘ offences past in the days of the late *Queen*, which *Pardons* many  
 ‘ of the said *Priests* have procured under Our Great Seal, and  
 ‘ holding themselves thereby free from danger of the *Laws*, do  
 ‘ with great *audacity* exercise all offices of their *Profession*, both  
 ‘ saying *Masses*, and perswading Our Subjects from the *Religion*  
 ‘ established, reconciling them to the *Church* of *Rome*, and by  
 ‘ consequence seducing them from their *Duty* and *Obedience* to  
 ‘ Us. Wherefore We hold Our self obliged both in *Consequence*  
 ‘ and *wisdom*, to use all good means to keep Our Subjects from  
 ‘ being affected with *superstitious Opinions*, which are not only  
 ‘ pernicious to their own *souls*, but the ready way to corrupt  
 ‘ their *Duty* and *Allegiance*; which cannot be any way so safely  
 ‘ performed, as by keeping from them the Instruments of that  
 ‘ infection, which are *Priests* of all sorts, ordained in Foreign  
 ‘ parts, by *Authority* prohibited by the *Laws* of the Land; con-  
 ‘ cerning whom, therefore We have thought fit to publish to all  
 ‘ Our Subjects this open *Declaration* of Our pleasure, &c. Will-  
 ‘ ing and Commanding all manner of *Jesuits*, *Seminaries*, and  
 ‘ other *Priests* whatsoever, having *Ordination* from any *Autho-*  
 ‘ *rity* by the *Laws* of this *Realm* prohibited, to take notice that  
 ‘ Our pleasure is; that they do before the nineteenth of *March*  
 ‘ next, depart forth of Our *Realm* and *Dominions*. And to that  
 ‘ purpose it shall be lawful for all Officers of Our *Ports*, to suffer  
 ‘ the said *Priests* to depart into Foreign parts, between this and  
 ‘ said nineteenth day of *March*. Admonishing and assuring  
 ‘ all such *Jesuits*, *Seminaries*, and *Priests*, of what sort soever,  
 ‘ that if any of them after the said time shall be taken within  
 ‘ this *Realm*, or any of Our *Dominions*, or departing now  
 ‘ upon

An. Reg. 1.

An. Christi

1603

A Proclama-  
 tion against  
 Jesuits.



An. Reg. I.

An. Christi

1603.



upon this Our pleasure signified, shall hereafter return into this Our *Realm*, or any of Our *Dominions* again, they shall be left to the penalty of the *Laws* here being in force concerning them, without hope of any *favour*, or remission from Us, &c. Which though, perhaps, it may appear to some a great *severity* towards that sort of Our *Subjects*. yet doubt We not when it shall be considered with indifferent judgment, what cause hath moved Us to use this *Providence*, all men will justify Us therein. For to whom is it unknown, into what peril Our *Person* was like to be drawn, and Our *Realm* unto Confusion, not many Months since, by *Conspiracy*? First conceived by persons of that sort. Which when other *Princes* shall duly observe, We assure Our selves they will no way conceive, that this alteration proceedeth from any *change* of *disposition*, but out of *providence* to prevent the *perils* otherwise inevitable; Considering their absolute *submission* to Foreign *Jurisdiction* at their first taking *Orders*, doth leave so conditional an authority to Kings over their *Subjects*, as the same *Power* by which they were made, may dispense at *pleasure*, with the *strictest* Bond of *Loyalty* and *Love*, between a King his People.

Among which Foreign *Powers*, though We acknowledg Our self personally so much beholden to the now *Bishop* of *Rome*, for his kind Offices, and private temporal Carriages towards Us, in many things, as We shall be ever ready to requite the same towards him (as *Bishop* of *Rome*, in state and condition of a *Secular Prince*) Yet when we consider and observe the course and Clame of that *See*, We have no reason to imagine, that *Princes* of Our *Religion* and *Profession*, can expect any assurance long to continue, unless it might be assented by *mediation* of other *Christian Princes*, that some good course might be taken (by a general Council, free, and lawfully called) to pluck up those *Roots* of *Dangers*, and *Jealousies*, which arise about *Religion*, as well between *Prince* and *Prince*, as between them and their *Subjects*, and to make it manifest, that no *State* or *Potentate*, either hath, or can challenge power to dispose of earthly Kingdoms or Monarchies, or to dispense with *Subjects* obedience to their *natural Sovereigns*: In which charitable *Action*, there is no *Prince* living that will be readier than We shall be to concur, even to the uttermost of Our *Power*, not only out of particular *disposition* to live peaceably with all *States* and *Princes* of *Christendom*, but because such a settled *Amity* might (by an Union in *Religion*) be established among *Christian Princes*, as might enable Us all to resist the common Enemy.

Given at Our Palace at Westminster the two and twentieth day of February, in the first year of Our Reign, &c.

This did something allay the heat and hopes of the *Jesuits*, and their *correspondents*, but it made way for dark, and more se-

cret



cret Contrivances, which afterwards they put in practice.

On the contrary, another *Proclamation* came out for *Uniformity* in *Religion* according to the Law established, to reduce those to *Conformity* that had not received satisfaction at the last Conference. The *Bishops* thought themselves unsecure, while so many *opposites* (unblameable in their *conversations*) by their *Pens* and *Preaching* gained upon the people, striking at the very *Root* of *Hierarchy*, that it was a hard *Question*, whether the *Jesuits*, whose *Principles* would advance their *Greatness*, or these that would pluck it down, were most odious to them. And now *Proclamations* are the *activest Agents*, some go abroad to please the people, some the King. All *Monopolies* (like *diseases*) that crept in, when the good old *Queen* had not strength enough to keep them out, must be purged away, and such *protections* as licentious *liberty* had granted to hinder *proceedings* in *Law*, must be taken off: *Saltpeter-men*, that will dig up any mans house by *authority* (where they are not well fee'd) must be restrained, and *Purveyors*, *Cart-takers*, and such insolent Officers as were grievances to the people, must be cryed down by *Proclamation*. A *Prince* that is invited, or comes newly to a Kingdom, must have his *Chariot* wheels smooth shod. And yet the liberty of *Hunting* must be forbidden, the Kings Game preserved, and a strict *Proclamation* threatens the disobediers. Indeed, take this Kings Reign from the beginning to the end, and you shall find *Proclamations* current Coin, and the people took them for good payment a great while, till the *multitude* of them lessened their *valuation*.

The *Bishops* could not be so wary, but some *Courtier* or other would commend a *Preacher* to the King, if they knew any of excellent parts; so that some preached before him that were averse to the *Bishops* ways. Among the rest one Mr. *Burges*, an excellent *Preacher*, and a pious man, moderately touching upon the *Ceremonies*, said, 'They were like the *Roman Senators* Glasses, which were not worth a mans life or livelihood: For (saith he) this *Senator* invited *Augustus Caesar* to a Dinner, and as he was coming to the Feast, he heard a horrid *Out-cry*, and saw some company drawing a man after them, that made that noise: the Emperor demanded the cause of that violence; it was answered, their Master had condemned this man to the *Fish-ponds* for breaking a *Glass* which he set a high value and esteem upon, *Caesar* commanded a stay of the *Execution*, and when he came to the House, he asked the *Senator*, whether he had Glasses worth a mans life? Who answered (being a great lover of such things) that he had Glasses he valued at the price of a Province. Let me see them (saith *Augustus*) and he brought him up to a room well furnished. The Emperor saw them beautiful to the eye, but knew withal they might be the cause of much

An. Reg. 1.

An. Christi

1663

A Proclamation for Uniformity.

A Sermon against Ceremonies.



An. Reg. I.

An. Christi  
1603.The fifth of  
August made  
Holyday.The King and  
Queen ride  
through the  
City.

*'mischief*, therefore he broke them all, with this expression, *'Better all these perish than one man*. I will leave it (saith he) to your Majesty to apply. But the *Bishops* got this and some other things against him, by the end, and silenced him for venting any more such *comparisons*. So that for many years after he practised Physick, and grew an excellent Physician. But upon second considerations he was admitted again to Preach, retaining both his Piety and Integrity (though he writ a book for the moderate use of the *Ceremonies*) ending his days in a good old age, at *Sutton Cofeld* in *Warwick-shire*, after a journey into the *Palatinate*, as shall be exprest in its time.

The fifth of *August* this year had a new title given to it. The Kings *Deliveries* in the *North* must resound here. Whether the *Gowries* attempted upon the Kings person, or the King on theirs, is variously reported. It may be, he retained something of his *Predecessor*, and great Parent, *Henry* the *seventh*, that made *Religion* give way to *Policy*, oftentimes cursing and thundring out the *Churches* fulminations against his own *Ministers*, that they might be received with the more intimate familiarity with his Foreign *Enemies*, for the better discovery of their *designs*. I will not say the celebration of this *Holy-day* had so much Prophaneness, for *Fame* may be a slanderer. But where there is a strength of *Policy*, there is often a power of *worldly* wisdom that manages, and sways it. The King forgot not the services there done him, or the secret contrivances acted for him; for *Erskin* and *Ramsey*, two of his then deliverers, were not long after rewarded with *wealth* and *honour*, the one made Earl of *Kellie*, the other Earl of *Holderness*; the first, prime Gentleman of the *Bed-Chamber* to the King; and second got to his Bedfellow one of the prime *Beauties* of the Kingdom, daughter to *Robert* Earl of *Sussex*; and both of them had their *Masters* purse at command, yet in our time, the one died poor with many children, the other poor and childless.

The Kings first going abroad was privately to visit some of his *houses*; for *naturally* he did not *love* to be looked on, and those *formalities* of State, which set a *lustre* upon *Princes* in the peoples eyes, were but so many burthens to him; for his private *recreations* at home, and his *hunting* exercises abroad, both with the least disturbance were his delights. While he remained in the *Tower*, he took pleasure in baiting *Lions*, but when he came abroad, he was so troubled with *swarms*, that he feared to be baited by the *people*. And the *Parliament* now drawing on, which was summoned to be the nineteenth of *March*, The King, with the *Queen* and *Prince*, four days before, rode from the *Tower* to *Whitehall*; the *City* and *Suburbs* being one great *Pageant*, wherein he must give his ears leave to suck in their gilded *Oratory*, though never so *nauseous* to the *stomach*. He was not



not like his *Predecessor*, the late *Queen* of famous *memory*, that with a well-pleased affection met her peoples Acclamations, thinking most highly of her self, when she was born up on the wings of their humble supplications. He endured this days brunt with *patience*, being assured he should never have such another, and his *triumphal* riding to the *Parliament* that followed: But afterwards in his *publick* appearances (especially in his *sports*) the accessses of the people made him so impatient, that he often dispersed them with *frowns*, that we may not say with *curses*. So various are the *natures* of *Princes*, and their *actions* so remarkable, that he may pass for a good man, that will not pass for a good Prince.

The Speech he made to the *Parliament*, both *Houses* being met, and the *first*, cannot be waved, though it be somewhat *long*, and printed in his *own Works*; By the *crisis* and constitution of it, the temper of his *mind* may be discovered; For if ever he spake really to his *Parliament* it was then; And I shall not comment upon it: For I know *Princes* are made of those frail *Elements* that other men are, but this much I will say; He had strong abilities in some things, that did dignifie the *doer* of them, and in other things such *weaknesses*, as would have much advanced his *wisdom* to have left undone. But if *worldly Greatness*, and *Glory*, may well make *Princes* more loth to leave them, than they that have less, we must give them some allowance of fear to lose them. The Speech was to this effect.

‘It did no sooner please God to lighten his hand, and relent  
‘the violence of his devouring *Angel* against the poor people of  
‘this City, but as soon I did resolve to call this *Parliament*, and  
‘that for three chief and principal *Reasons*. The first whereof  
‘is (and which of it self, although there were no *more*, is not only  
‘a sufficient, but a most full and necessary Ground and Reason  
‘for convening of this *Assembly*) the first *Reason*, I say, is, That  
‘you who are here present assembled to represent the Body of  
‘this whole Kingdom, and of all sorts of people within the  
‘same, may with your own ears hear, and that I out of my own  
‘mouth may deliver unto you the assurance of my due thank-  
‘fulness for your so joyful and general applause, to the de-  
‘claring and receiving of me in this *Seat* (which God by my  
‘*Birth-right*, and lineal Descent had in the fulness of time pro-  
‘vided for me) and that immediately after it pleased God to  
‘call your late *Sovereign* of famous *memory*, full of *days*, but  
‘fuller of immortal *Trophies* of *Honour*, out of this transitory  
‘life. Not that I am able to express by Words, or utter by Elo-  
‘quence, the vive Image of my own inward thankfulness, but  
‘only that out of my own *mouth*, you may rest assured to ex-  
‘pect that measure of thankfulness at my hands, which is ac-  
‘cording to the infiniteness of your *deserts*, and to my incli-  
‘nation

An. Reg. I.

An. Christi

1603.

The Kings  
Speech to the  
Parliament.



An. Reg. I.

An. Christi

1603.

nation, and ability, for requital of the same. *Shall I ever?* nay,  
 can I ever be able, or rather so unable in *memory*, as to forget  
 your unexpected readiness and alacrity, your ever memorable  
*resolution*, and your most wonderful conjunction, and harmo-  
 ny of your hearts, in declaring and embracing me as your un-  
 doubted, and lawful King and Governour? Or shall it ever  
 be blotted out of my *mind*, how at my first entry into this  
 Kingdom, the people of all sorts rid and ran, nay, rather, flew  
 to meet me? Their eyes flaming nothing but sparkles of af-  
 fection, their mouths and tongues uttering nothing but *sounds*  
 of joy; their hands, feet, and all the rest of their members, in  
 their *gestures*, discovering a *passionate* longing, and earnestness  
 to meet, and embrace their new *Sovereign*. *Quid ergo retribu-*  
*am?* Shall I allow in my self that which I could never bear  
 with in another? No, I must plainly and freely confess here,  
 in all your audiences, that I did ever *naturally* so far dislike  
 a tongue too smooth, and diligent in paying their *Creditors*,  
 with *lip-payment*, and verbal thanks, as I ever suspected that  
 sort of people, meant not to pay their Debtors in more *sub-*  
*stantial* sort of *coin*. And therefore for expressing of my thank-  
 fulness, I must resort unto the other two *Reasons* of my conve-  
 ning of this *Parliament*, by them in *action* to utter my thank-  
 fulness: Both the said *reasons* having but one ground, which  
 is the deeds, whereby all the days of my life I am by Gods  
 grace to express my said thankfulness unto you, but divided  
 in this, That in the first of these two, mine *actions* of thanks  
 are so inseparably conjoynd with my person, as they are in a  
 manner become individually annexed to the same. In the o-  
 ther *reason*, mine *actions* are such, as I may either do them, or  
 leave them undone, although by Gods grace I hope never to  
 be weary of the doing them.

As to the first, it is the *Blessings* which God hath in my *Person*  
 bestowed upon you all, wherein I protest, I do more glory at  
 the same for your *weal*, than for any particular respect of my  
 own reputation, or advancement therein.

1. The first then of these *Blessings*, which God hath joyntly  
 with my person sent unto you, is *Outward Peace*; that is, Peace  
 abroad with all Foreign *Neighbours*. For I thank God, I may  
 justly say, that never since I was a King, I either received  
 wrong of any other *Christian Prince or State*, or did wrong to  
 any: I have ever, I praise God, yet kept *Peace* and *Amity* with  
 all, which hath been so far tyed to my person, as at my coming  
 here you are witnesses, I found the *State* embarked in a great  
 and tedious *war*, and only by mine arrival here, and by the  
*Peace* in my person, is now *Amity* kept, where *war* was before,  
 which is no small blessing to a *Christian Common-wealth*: For  
 by *peace* abroad with their *neighbours* the Towns flourish, the  
 Merchants



‘ Merchants become rich, the Trade doth increase, and the  
 ‘ People of all sorts in the Land enjoy free Liberty to exercise  
 ‘ themselves in their several vocations, without peril or distur-  
 ‘ bance. Not that I think this *Outward peace* so unseparably  
 ‘ tied to my *Person*, as I dare assuredly promise to my self, and  
 ‘ to you, the certain continuance thereof; But thus far I can  
 ‘ very well assure you, and in the Word of a King promise unto  
 ‘ you, that I shall never give the first occasion of the breach  
 ‘ thereof, neither shall I ever be moved for any particular, or  
 ‘ private *passion of mind*, to interrupt your *publick peace*, except  
 ‘ I be forced thereunto, either for reparation of the *honour* of  
 ‘ the Kingdom, or else by *necessity* for the weal and preservation  
 ‘ of the same: In which case, a secure and honourable *War* must  
 ‘ be preferred before an unsecure and dishonourable *peace*.  
 ‘ Yet do I hope, by my experience of the by-past blessings of  
 ‘ *peace*, which God hath so long ever since my birth bestowed  
 ‘ upon me, that he will not be weary to continue the same, nor  
 ‘ repent him of his *grace* towards me; transferring that *sen-*  
 ‘ *tence* of King *Dauids* upon his by-past Victories of *war*, to mine  
 ‘ of *peace*; That that God who preserved me from the devour-  
 ‘ ring jaws of the Bear, and of the Lion, and delivered them  
 ‘ into my hand, shall now also grant me Victory over that un-  
 ‘ circumcised *Philistine*.

‘ But although outward *peace* be a great  *blessing*, yet it is as  
 ‘ far inferiour to *peace* within, as Civil Wars are more cruel  
 ‘ and unnatural than Wars abroad. And therefore the second  
 ‘ great  *blessing* that God hath with my *Person* sent unto you, is  
 ‘ Peace within, and that in a double form: First, by my de-  
 ‘ descent lineally out of the loyns of *Henry* the seventh, is re-uni-  
 ‘ ted and confirmed in me the *Union* of the two *Princely Roses* of  
 ‘ the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, whereof that King of  
 ‘ happy *memory* was the first *Uniter*, as he was also the first  
 ‘ ground-layer of the other *peace* (The lamentable and misera-  
 ‘ ble events, by the civil and bloody diffension betwixt these  
 ‘ two Houses, was so great, and so late, as it need not be renew-  
 ‘ ed unto your *memories*.) which as it was first settled and uni-  
 ‘ ted in *Him*, so it is now re-united and confirmed in *Me*; be-  
 ‘ ing justly and lineally descended, not only of that happy  
 ‘ conjunction, but of both the Branches thereof in any Times  
 ‘ before. But the *Union* of these two *Princely Houses* is nothing  
 ‘ comparable to the *Union* of the two ancient and famous  
 ‘ Kingdoms, which is the other Inward *peace* annexed to my  
 ‘ *Person*.

‘ And here I must crave your *patience* for a little space, to  
 ‘ give me leave to discourse more particularly of the Benefits  
 ‘ that do arise of that *Union* which is made in my blood, being  
 ‘ a matter that belongeth most properly to me to speak of, as  
 ‘ the

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the *Head*, wherein that great *Body* is united. And first, if we were to look no higher than to *Natural* and *Physica! Reasons*, we may easily be perswaded of the great Benefits that by this *Union* do redound to the whole Island: for if twenty thousand men be a strong *Army*, is not the double thereof, forty thousand, a stronger *Army*? If a Baron enricheth himself with double as many Lands as he had before, is he not double the greater? Nature teacheth *Us*, that *Mountains* are made of *Motes*; and that at first, Kingdoms being divided, and every particular Town, or little Country (as Tyrants or Usurpers could obtain the possession of a Signory apart) many of these little Kingdoms are now in process of Time, by the *Ordinance of God*, joyned into great *Monarchies*, whereby they are become powerful within themselves, to defend themselves from all Outward invasions, and their *Head* and *Governour* thereby enabled to redeem them from Foreign Assaults, and punish private transgressions within. Do we not yet remember that this Kingdom was divided into seven little Kingdoms, besides *Wales*? And is it not now the stronger by their *Union*? And hath not the *Union* of *Wales* to *England* added a greater strength thereto! Which though it was a great Principality, was nothing comparable, in greatness and power, to the antient and famous Kingdom of *Scotland*. But what shall we stick upon any *Natural* appearance, when it is manifest that *God* by his *Almighty Providence* hath pre-ordained it so to be? Hath not *God* first united these two Kingdoms, both in Language, and Religion, and similitude of Manners? Yea, hath he not made *Us* all in one Island, compassed with one Sea, and of it self by Nature so indivisible, as almost those that were borderers themselves on the late *Borders*, cannot distinguish, nor know, or discern their own *Limits*? These two Countries being separated neither by Sea, nor great River, Mountain, nor other strength of *Nature*, but only by little small Brooks, or demolished little Walls, so as rather they were divided in apprehension, than in effect; and now in the end and fulness of time united, the right and title of both in my *Person*, alike lineally descended of both the *Crowns*, whereby it is now become a little *World* within it self, being intrenched and fortified round about with a *natural*, and yet admirable strong Pond or Ditch, whereby all the former fears of this Nation are quite cut off. The other part of the Island being ever before now, not only the Place of Landing to all Strangers that were to make Invasion here, but likewise moved by the Enemies of this *State*, by untimely IncurSIONs to make inforced diversion from their *Conquests*, for defending themselves at home, and keeping sure their Back-door, as then it was called, which was the greatest hindrance and Let my Predecessors



'Predecessors of this Nation ever had, in disturbing them  
 'from their many famous and glorious Conquests abroad:  
 'What God hath conjoynd then, let no man separate. I am the  
 'Husband, and all the whole Island is my lawful wife; I am  
 'the Head, and it is my Body; I am the Shepherd, and it is my  
 'Flock: I hope therefore no man will be so unreasonable as to  
 'think that I, that am a *Christian King* under the Gospel,  
 'should be a *Polygamist*, and Husband to two *Wives*; that I be-  
 'ing the Head, should have a divided and monstrous Body; or  
 'that being the Shepherd of so fair a Flock (whose Fold hath  
 'no wall to fence it, but the four Seas) should have my Flock  
 'parted in two. But as I am assured, that no honest Subject,  
 'of whatsoever degree, within my whole Dominions, is less  
 'glad of this joyful Union, than I am; so may the frivolous  
 'objection of any that would be hinderers of this work (which  
 'God hath in my Person already established) be easily answer-  
 'ed; which can be none, except such as are either blinded  
 'with ignorance, or else transported with malice, being unable  
 'to live in a well-governed Common-wealth, and only de-  
 'lighting to fish in troubled waters: For if they would stand  
 'upon their reputation, and privileges of any of the King-  
 'doms, I pray you, were not both the Kingdoms *Monar-*  
 'chies from the beginning? And consequently, could ever the  
 'Body be counted without the Head, which was ever unsepara-  
 'bly joyned thereunto? So that as the honour and privileges  
 'of any of the Kingdoms could not be divided from their So-  
 'vereign; so are they now confounded and joyned in my Per-  
 'son, who am equal and alike kindly Head to both. When  
 'this Kingdom of England was divided into so many petty  
 'Kingdoms (as I told you before) one of them eat up another,  
 'till they were all united into One. And yet, can *Wiltshire* or  
 '*Devonshire*, which were of the *West-Saxons* (although their  
 'Kingdom was of longest durance, and did by Conquest over-  
 'come divers of the rest of the little Kingdoms) make Claim  
 'to Priority of place or Honour before *Suffex*, *Essex*, or other  
 'Shires, which were Conquered by them? And have we not  
 'the like experience in the Kingdom of France, being compo-  
 'sed of divers *Dutchies*, and one after another Conquered by  
 'the Sword? For even as little Brooks lose their Names by run-  
 'ning and falling into great Rivers, and the very name and me-  
 'mory of great Rivers swallowed up in the Ocean: so by the  
 'conjunction of divers little Kingdoms into One, are all these  
 'private differences and questions swallowed up. And since  
 'the success was happy of the *Saxon* Kingdoms Conquered by  
 'the Spear of *Bellona*; how much greater reason have we to ex-  
 'pect a happy issue of this greater Union, which is only fast-  
 'ned and bound up by the wedding-Ring of *Astrea*? And as  
 D 'God

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3.

God hath made *Scotland* (the one half of this *Island*) to enjoy my birth, and the first and most imperfect half of my life; and you here to enjoy the perfect and last half thereof: so can I not think, that any would be so injurious to me, no not in their thoughts and wishes, as to cut asunder the one half of Me from the other. But in this matter I have far enough insisted, resting assured, that in your *hearts* and *minds* you all applaud this my Discourse.

Now although these  *blessings* (before rehearsed) of inward, and outward *peace* be great: yet seeing that in all good things, a great part of their *goodness* and *estimation* is lost, if they have not appearance of perpetuity or long continuance; so hath it pleased *Almighty God* to accompany my person also with that *favour*, having healthful and hopeful issue of my bod (whereof some are here present) for continuance and propagation of that undoubted *Right* which is in my person; under whom I doubt not but it will please God to prosper and continue for many years this *Union*, and all other blessings of inward and outward *Peace*, which I have brought with me.

4.

But neither *peace* outward, nor *peace* inward, nor any other *blessing* that can follow thereupon, nor appearance of the perpetuity thereof, by propagation in *posterity*, are but weak pillars, and rotten reeds to lead unto, if God doth not strengthen, and by the *staff* of his *blessing* make them durable; for in vain doth the *watchman* watch the City, if the Lord be not the *principal* defence thereof; in vain doth the Builder build the house, if God give not the success; and in vain (as *Paul* saith) doth *Paul* plant, and *Apollo* water, if God give not the increase: for all worldly *blessings* are but like swift passing shadows, fading flowers, or chaff blown before the wind, if by the profession of true *Religion*, and works according thereunto, God be not moved to maintain and settle the *Thrones* of Princes. And although since mine *entry* into this Kingdom, I have both by meeting with divers of the *Ecclesiastical* state, and likewise by divers Proclamations clearly declared my mind in *points* of *Religion*, yet do I not think it amiss in this so solemn an *Audience* to take occasion to discover somewhat of the secrets of my heart in that matter. For I shall never (with Gods grace) be ashamed to make publick *profession* thereof upon all occasions, lest God should be ashamed of me before *Men* and *Angels*; especially lest at this time men might presume further upon the misknowledg of my meaning to trouble this *Parliament* than were convenient.

At my first coming, although I found but one *Religion*, and that which by my self is professed, publicly allowed, and by the Law maintained; yet found I another sort of *Religion*, besides a private *Sett*, lurking within the bowels of this *Nation*. The first is the true *Religion*, which by me is professed, and by Law is established: The second is, the falsely called *Catholicks*,

The



but truly *Papists*: The third which I call a *Sect* rather than a Religion, is the *Puritans* and *Novelists*, who do not so far differ from us in *points* of Religion, as in their confused form of policy and parity, being ever discontented with the present Government, and impatient to suffer any superiority, which maketh their *Sects* insufferable in any well governed Commonwealth. But as for my course towards them, I remit it to my Proclamations made upon that subject. And now for the *Papists*, I must put a difference betwixt mine own private profession of my salvation, and my politick Government of the Realm for the weal and quietness thereof. As for my own profession, you have me your head now among you, of the same Religion that the Body is of; As I am no stranger to you in Blood, no more am I a stranger to you in Faith, or in matters concerning the House of God. And although this my profession be according to my education, wherein (I thank God) I suckt the milk of Gods Truth, with the milk of my Nurse; yet I do here protest unto you, that I would never (for such a conceit of *Constancy*, or other prejudicate opinion) have so firmly kept my first profession, if I had not found it agreeable to all reason, and to the rule of my conscience. But I was never violent, nor unreasonable in my profession: I acknowledg the *Roman Church* to be our *Mother Church*, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, as the *Jews* were, before they Crucified Christ. And as I am no enemy to the life of a sick man, because I would have his body purged of ill humours; no more am I an enemy to their Church, because I would have them reform their errors, not wishing the downthrowing of the Temple, but that it might be purged, and cleansed from corruption: otherwise how can they wish us to enter, if their house be not first made clean? But as I would be lother to dispense in the least point of mine own conscience, for any worldly respect, than the foolishhest *Precisian* of them all; so would I be as sorry to streighten the politick Government of the bodies and minds of all my Subjects to my private Opinions: Nay, my mind was ever so free from persecution, or inthralling of my Subjects in matters of conscience, as I hope those of that profession within this Kingdom have a proof since my coming, that I was so far from increasing their burthens with *Rehoboam*, as I have so much as either time, occasion, or law could permit, lightned them. And even now at this time, have I been careful to revise and consider deeply upon the Laws made against them, that some overture might be made to the present Parliament for clearing these Laws by reason (which is the soul of the Law) in case they have been in times past, further, or more rigorously extended by Judges, than the meaning of the Law was, or might

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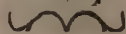




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'tend to the hurt as well of the Innocent as of the guilty per-  
 'sons. And as to the persons of my Subjects which are of that  
 'profession, I must divide them into two ranks, *Clericks* and  
 'Laicks: for the *Laicks*, I ever thought them far more excu-  
 'sable than the other sort, because their *Religion* containeth  
 'such an ignorant, doubtful, and implicate kind of *Faith*  
 'grounded upon their *Church*, that except they do generally  
 'believe whatsoever their Teachers please to affirm, they can-  
 'not be thought guilty of these particular Points of *Heresies*,  
 'and *Corruptions*, which their Teachers so wilfully profess.  
 'And again, I must subdivide the *Laicks* into two ranks; which  
 'are, either quiet and well-minded men, peaceable *Subjects*,  
 'who either being old, retain their first drunk-in liquor, upon  
 'a certain shamefacedness to be thought curious, or change-  
 'able: Or being young men, through evil *education*, have been  
 'nursed and brought up upon such *venom*, instead of wholesome  
 'nutriment; And this sort of People, I would be sorry to pu-  
 'nish their *Bodies* for the error of their *minds*, the *reformation*  
 'whereof must only come of *God*, and the true *Spirit*. But the  
 'other rank of *Laicks*, who either through *curiosity*, affectation  
 'of *novelty*, or discontentment, have changed their Coats, on-  
 'ly to be *factionous*, stirrers of *sedition*, and perturbers of the  
 'Common-wealth, this giveth a ground to Me (the *Magistrate*)  
 'to take better heed to their proceedings, and to correct their  
 'obstinacy.

'But for the *Clericks*, I must directly say and affirm, that as  
 'long as they maintain one special point of their *Doctrine*, and  
 'another of their *Practice*, they are no way sufferable to remain  
 'in this Kingdom. The point of *Doctrine* is, that arrogant  
 'and ambitious *Supremacy* of their Head the *Pope*, whereby he  
 'not only claims to be *Spiritual Head* of all *Christians*, but al-  
 'so to have an *Imperial Civil* power over all *Kings* and *Empe-  
 'rors*, dethroning and decrowning *Princes* with his foot as  
 'pleaseth him, and dispensing and disposing of all *Kingdoms*  
 'and *Empires* at his Appetite. The other Point which they ob-  
 'serve, in continual Practice, is the *Affassinates* and *Murthers* of  
 'Kings; thinking it no sin, but rather a matter of salvation, to  
 'do all actions of *Rebellion* and *Hostility* against their *Natural*  
 '*Sovereign Lord*, if he be once *cursed*, his *Subjects* discharged of  
 'their *Fidelity*, and his *Kingdom* given a prey, by that three-  
 'Crowned *Monarch*, or rather *Monster*, their Head. And in this  
 'Point I have no occasion to speak further here, saving that I  
 'could wish from my heart it would please *God* to make me  
 'one of the *Members* of such a general *Christian Union* in *Reli-  
 'gion*, as (laying wilfulness aside on both hands) we might  
 'meet in the midst, which is the center, and perfection of all  
 'things. For if they would leave, and be ashamed of such new  
 'and



and gross Corruptions of theirs, as themselves cannot maintain, nor deny to be worthy of *Reformation*, I would for my own part be content to meet them in the Mid-way, so that all *Novelties* might be renounced on either side. For as my Faith is the *True, Ancient, Catholick and Apostolick Faith*, grounded upon the expresse Word of God; so will I ever yield all reverence to *Antiquity*, in the Points of *Ecclesiastical Polity*: And by that means shall I ever, with Gods grace, keep my self from either being an *Heretick in Faith*, or *Schismatick in matters of Policy*.

But of one thing would I have the *Papists* of this Land to be admonished, that they presume not so much upon my *Venue* (because I would be loth to be thought a *Persecutor*) as thereupon to think it *lawful* for them daily to increase their number and strength in this Kingdom; whereby, if not in my time, at least in the time of my *Posterity*, they may be in hope to erect their *Religion* again. No, let them assure themselves, that as I am a *Friend* to their *Persons*, if they be good *Subjects*; so I am a vowed *Enemy*, and do denounce Mortal War to their *Errors*. And as I would be sorry to be driven, by their ill behaviour, from the protection and conservation of their *bodies and lives*; so will I never cease, as far as I can, to tread down their *Errors*, and wrong *Opinions*. For I could not permit the increase and growing of their *Religion*, without betraying my self, and my own *Conscience*, and this whole Island, as well the part I am come from, as the part I remain in, in betraying their *Liberties*, and reducing them to the former *slavish yoke*, which both had cast off before I came among them; as also the Liberty of the *Crown* in my *Posterity*, which I should leave again under a new *Slavery*, being left free to me by my *Predecessors*. And therefore I would wish all good *Subjects* that are deceived with this Corruption, if they find any beginnings in themselves of knowledg, and love to the truth, to foster the same by all lawful means, and to beware of quenching the Spirit that worketh within them. And if they can find as yet no motion tending that way, to be studious to read and confer with learned Men, and to use all such means as may further their *Resolution*, assuring them, that as long as they are disconformable in Religion to us, they cannot be but half my *Subjects*, be able to do but half service, and I shall want the best half of them, which is their *souls*.

And here I have occasion to speak to you, my Lords the *Bishops*; for as you my Lord of *Durham*, said very learnedly to day in your *Sermon*, *Correction without Instruction is but Tyranny*: So ought you, and all the Clergy under you, to be more careful, vigilant and careful than you have been, to win

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win souls to God, as well by your exemplary Life, as Doctrine. And since you see how careful they are, sparing neither labour, pains, nor extreme peril of their Persons, to pervert, the Devil is so busie a Bishop; ye should be the more careful, and wakeful in your Charges. Follow the Rule prescribed you by Saint Paul, Be careful to exhort and instruct, in season, and out of season: And where you have been any way sluggish before, now waken your selves up again with a new diligence, remitting the success to God, who calling them either at the second, third, tenth, or twelfth hour, as they are alike welcom to him, so shall they be to me his Lieutenant here.

The third Reason of my Convening you at this time, which containeth such Actions of my Thankfulness towards you, as I may either do, or leave undone, yet shall, with Gods grace, ever press to perform all the days of my life. It consists in these two Points; In making of Laws at certain Times, which is only at such Times as this, in Parliament; or in the careful Execution of the Laws at other Times. As for the Making of them, I will thus far faithfully promise unto you, that I will ever prefer the weal of the Body above any particular or private ends of my Own, thinking ever the Weal of the Commonwealth to be the greatest Weal, and worldly felicity: A Point wherein a lawful King doth directly differ from a Tyrant. But at this time I am only thus far to forwarn you in that Point, that you beware to seek the making of too many Laws, for two especial Reasons; First, because *In corruptissima Republica plurima leges*; And the execution of some good Laws is far more profitable in a Common-wealth, than to burthen mens memories with making too many of them. And next, because the making of too many Laws in one Parliament, will bring in Confusion, for want of leisure, wisely to deliberate before you conclude; for the Bishop said well to day, That to Deliberation a large time would be given, but to Execution a greater promptness was required. As for the Execution of good Law, it hath been very wisely and honourably foreseen, and ordered by my Predecessors in this Kingdom, in planting such a number of Judges, and all sorts of Magistrates, in convenient places, for execution of the same. And therefore must I now turn to you that are Judges, and Magistrates under me, as mine Eyes and Ears in this case: I can say no otherwise to you, than as Ezekias the good King of Juda said to their Judges, Remember that the Thrones you sit on are Gods, and neither yours nor mine. And as you must be answerable to me, so must both you and I be answerable to God for the due Execution of Our Offices. That Place is no Place for you to utter your Affections in; you must not there

heat



'hate your foe, nor love your friend; fear the offending of the  
'greater party, or pity the misery of the meaner; ye must be  
'blind, and not see distinctions of Persons; handleless, not to re-  
'ceive Bribes; but keep that just Temper and Medium in all  
'your Proceedings, that like a just Ballance, ye may neither  
'sway to the right hand, nor to the left. Three principal  
'Qualities are required in you, Knowledge, Courage, and Sincerity;  
'that you may discern with Knowledge, execute with Cou-  
'rage, and do both in upright Sincerity. And for my part, I  
'do vow and protest here in the presence of God, and of this  
'Honourable Audience, I never shall be weary, nor omit occasion  
'wherein I may shew my carefulness of the Execution of good  
'Laws: And as I wish you that are Judges, not to be weary in  
'your Office, in doing of it; so shall I never be weary, with  
'Gods grace, to take account of you, which is properly my cal-  
'ling.

'And thus having told you the three causes of my Conve-  
'ning of this Parliament, all three tending only to utter my  
'thankfulness, but in divers forms; the first by word, the other  
'two by action; I do confess, that when I have done, and per-  
'formed all that in this Speech I have promised, *Inutilis servus*  
'sum. When I have done all that I can for you, I do nothing  
'but that which I am bound to do, and am accountable to  
'God for the contrary. For the difference betwixt a Rightful  
'King, and an Usurping Tyrant, is this; That the proud and  
'ambitious Tyrant doth think his Kingdom and People are ordai-  
'ned for satisfaction of his desires, and unreasonable appetite;  
'The righteous and just King doth by the contrary, acknowledg  
'himself to be ordained for procuring the wealth and prosperity  
'of his People, and that his greatest and principal worldly felicity  
'must consist in their prosperity: If you be rich, I cannot be poor;  
'if you be happy, I cannot but be fortunate; and I protest, that  
'your welfare shall ever be my greatest care and contentment.  
'And that I am a Servant, is most true; that as I am a Head and  
'Governour of all the People in my Dominions, who are my Natu-  
'ral Vassals, and Subjects, considering them in numbers, and distinct  
'ranks; So if we will take the People as one Body and Mass, then  
'as the Head is ordained for the Body, and not the Body for the  
'Head; so must a righteous King know himself to be ordained for  
'his People, and not his People for Him: For although a King and  
'his People be *Relata*, yet can he be no King if he want People and  
'Subjects. But there be many People in the world that lack a  
'Head; wherefore I will never be ashamed to confess it my  
'Principal Honour, to be the great Servant of the Common-  
'wealth; and ever think the Prosperity thereof to be my greatest  
'felicity, as I have already said.

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' But as it was the whole Body of this Kingdom ( with an  
 ' uniform assent and harmony ) which did so far oblige me, so  
 ' is my thankfulness due to the whole *State*. For even as in  
 ' Matter of faults, *Quod à multis peccatur, impunè peccatur*; even  
 ' so in the Matter of *virtuous* and good deeds, which are done  
 ' by the willing Consent and Harmony of the whole *Body*, no  
 ' particular Person can justly claim thanks, as proper to him,  
 ' for the same: And therefore I must here make a little *Apo-*  
 ' *logie* for my self, in that I could not satisfie the particular *hu-*  
 ' *mours* of every *Person* that looked for some Advancement or  
 ' Reward at my hand, since my entry into this Kingdom.  
 ' Three kinds of things were craved of me, *Advancement to ho-*  
 ' *nour*, *Preferment* to place of *Credit* about my *Person*, and *Re-*  
 ' *ward* in Matters of *Land* or *Profit*. If I had bestowed Ho-  
 ' nour upon all, no man could have been advanced to Honour;  
 ' for the Degrees of Honour do consist in preferring some above  
 ' their Fellows: If every man had the like access to my *Per-*  
 ' *son*, then no man could have it: and if I had bestowed Lands  
 ' and Rewards upon every man, the *Fountain* of my *Liberality*  
 ' would have been so exhausted, as I should want Means to be  
 ' liberal to any man. Yet was I not so sparing, but I may  
 ' without Vaunting affirm, that I have enlarged my *favour* in  
 ' all the three Degrees, towards as many and more, than ever  
 ' King of *England* did, in so short a space. No, I rather crave  
 ' your *pardon*, that I have been so bountiful: For if the *means* of  
 ' the *Crown* be wasted, whither should I have recourse but to  
 ' you my *Subjects*, and be burthensome to you? which I should  
 ' be lothest to do of any King alive. Two special *Causes* mo-  
 ' ved me to be so open-handed, whereof the one was *reasonable*  
 ' and *honourable*, but the other ( I will not be ashamed to confesse  
 ' unto you ) proceeded of my own *infirmity*. That which was  
 ' Just and Honourable, was, that being so far beholden to the  
 ' *Body* of the whole *State*, I thought I could not refuse to let  
 ' some small *Brooks* run out of the *Fountain* of my Thankfulness  
 ' to the whole, for refreshing of particular Persons, that were  
 ' *Members* of that *Multitude*. The other which proceeded out of  
 ' mine own *Infirmity*, was, the *Multitude* and importunity of  
 ' *Suters*. But although *Reason* come by infusion in a manner,  
 ' yet *Experience* groweth with time and labour: And therefore  
 ' do I not doubt, but Experience will teach the particular *Sub-*  
 ' *jects* of this Kingdom, not to be so importune and undiscreeit  
 ' in craving; and Me not to be so easily and lightly moved, in  
 ' granting that which may be *harmful* to my *Estate*, and conse-  
 ' quently to the whole Kingdom.

' And thus at length having declared unto you my mind,  
 ' My Conclusion shall only now be, to excuse my Self, in case you  
 ' have not found such *Eloquence* in my *speech*, as peradventure  
 you



‘ you might have looked for at my hands. I might alledg the  
 ‘ great weight of my Affairs; and my continual *business*, and di-  
 ‘ straction, that I could never have leisure to think upon what  
 ‘ I was to speak; And I might also alledg, that my first sight  
 ‘ of this so Famous and Honourable an Assembly, might like-  
 ‘ wise breed some impediment: But leaving these excuses, I  
 ‘ will plainly, and freely, in my manner, tell you the true Cause  
 ‘ of it; which is, That it becometh a King, in my opinion, to  
 ‘ use no other *Eloquence* than plainness and sincerity. By plain-  
 ‘ ness, I mean, that his *Speeches* should be so clear, and void of  
 ‘ all ambiguity, that they may not be thrown, nor rent in sun-  
 ‘ der, in contrary senses, like the old *Oracles* of the *Pagan gods*:  
 ‘ And by Sincerity, I understand, that *uprightness* and *honesty*  
 ‘ which ought to be in a Kings whole *Speeches*, and *Actions*; that  
 ‘ as far as a King is in Honour erected above any of his *Subjects*,  
 ‘ so far should he strive in *Sincerity* to be above them all, and  
 ‘ that his *tongue* should be ever the true *Messenger* of his heart.  
 ‘ And this sort of *Eloquence* you may ever assuredly look for at  
 ‘ my hands.

An. Reg. 1.

An. Christi

1603.



Thus the *Beams* of *Majesty* had an influence upon every  
 branch and leaf of the Kingdom, by reflecting upon the *Root*,  
 their *Representative Body*; every particular expecting what fruit  
 this *Sun-shine* would produce; striving as much to insinuate  
 into him, as he did into the *general*, so that there was a *Reci-  
 procal Harmony* between the King and the People, because they  
 courted one another. But when the Kings *Bounty* contracted it  
 self into private Favourites (as it did afterwards) bestowing  
 the affection he promised the whole people, upon one man; when  
 the golden showers they gaped for, dropt into some few chan-  
 nels; their *passions* flew higher than their *hopes*. The Kings aims  
 were, to unite the two Kingdoms, so that the one might cor-  
 roborate the other, to make good that part of his Speech (by  
 this intermixture) wherein he divides *England* and *Scotland* into  
 halves: But the *English* stumbled at that *partition*, thinking it  
 an unequal *division*; and fearing that the *Scots* (creeping into  
*English* Lordships, and *English* Ladies Beds, in both which alrea-  
 dy they began to be active) might quickly make their least half  
 the predominant part.

But he was Proclaimed King of Great Britain; *England* must  
 be no more a Name; the *Scottish* *Coyns* are made currant, and  
 our *Ships* must have *Saint Georges* and *Saint Andrews* Crosses  
 quartered together in their Flags; all outward *Ensigns* of *Amity*.  
 But those *English* that had sucked in none of the sweets of this  
 pleasant Stream of *Bounty*, repined to see the *Scots* advanced  
 from *blew Bonnets* to costly *Beavers*, wearing instead of *wad-  
 meal*, *Velvet* and *Satin*; as divers *Pasquils* written in that Age Sa-  
 tyrically

The King pro-  
 claimed King  
 of great Bri-  
 tain.



An. Reg. I.

An. Christi

1603.



tyrically taunted at. Which is not set down here, to vilifie the Scots (being most of them Gentlemen that had deserved well of their Master) but to shew, how cross to the publick Appetite the *Hony-comb* is, that another man eats. But the King (like a wise Pilot) guided the *Helm* with so even an hand, that these small gulls were not felt. It behoved him to play his Master-prize in the Beginning, which he did to the life, for he had divers opinions, humours and affections to grapple with, as well as Nations, and 'tis a very calm Sea when no billow rises. The Romanists bogled, that he said in his Speech, They were unsufferable in the Kingdom, as long as they maintained the Pope to be their Spiritual Head, and He to have power to dethrone Princes. The Separatists (as the King called them) were offended at that Expression, wherein he professed willingly, if the Papists would lay down King-killing, and some other gross errors, he would be content to meet them half way. So that every one grounded his hopes, or his fears, upon the shallows of his own fancy; not knowing yet what course the King would steer. But these sores being tenderly dealt with, did not suddenly fester, but wereskinne over. The King desirous of the Title, *Pacificus*, did not only close with his own Subjects, but healed up also that old wound that had bled long in the sides of England and Spain, both being weary of the pain, both willing to be cured. The King of Spain sent the Constable of Castile with a mighty Train of smooth-handed Spaniards to close up the wound on this side, where (the old Enmity being well mortified) they were received with singular Respect and Civility. The King of England sent his High Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, with as splendid a Retinue of English, to close it on that: Who being Personages of Quality, accoutred with all Ornaments suitable, were the more admired by the Spaniards for beauty and excellency, by how much the Jesuits had made impressions in the vulgar opinion, That since the English left the Roman Religion, they were transformed into strange horrid shapes, with Heads and Tails like Beasts and Monsters. So easie it is for those Fuglers, when they have once bound up the Conscience, to tie up the Understanding also.

The King and  
Parliament in  
good accord.

But the Parliament highly admiring the Kings abilities, made a Recognition thereof with many Elogies, as the prime Act of their humble submission to his Government, wherein they yield their most humble thanks to the Divine Majesty for his access to the Crown, and they desire from their Hearts, that as a Memorial to all Posterity (among the Records of the High Court of Parliament, for ever to endure) it may be published and declared, that they acknowledg his Right of Succession to the Crown of England, and the Empire thereof; and thereunto they faithfully submit, and oblige themselves, their Heirs, and Posterities

ties



ties for ever, until the last drop of their *Bloods* be spent. So high mounted was the Affection of the People to the King! And happily might have continued so, if some after *Jealousies* had not intervened, that like *Clouds*, hindred the influence of their more intimate Correspondence.

And to satisfy the *Kings* desires about an *Union* betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, the *Parliament* made an *Act* to authorise certain Commissioners; viz. *Thomas* Lord *Ellesmere*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; *Thomas* Earl of *Dorset*, Lord Treasurer of *England*; *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*; *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, *Richard* Bishop of *London*, *Tobie* Bishop of *Durresme*, *Anthony* Bishop of *Saint Davids*; *Robert* Lord *Cecil*, Principal Secretary; *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, Lord President of *Wales*; *William* Lord *Mounteagle*, *Ralph* Lord *Eure*; *Edmund* Lord *Sheffield*, Lord President of the Council in the North; Lords of the Higher House of *Parliament*. And *Thomas* Lord *Clinton*, *Robert* Lord *Buckhurst*, *Sir Francis* *Hastings*, Knight; *Sir John* *Stanhope*, Knight, Vice-Chamberlain to his Majesty; *Sir John* *Herbert*, Knight, second Secretary to his Majesty; *Sir George* *Carew*, Knight, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen; *Sir Thomas* *Strickland*, Knight; *Sir Edward* *Stafford*, Knight; *Sir Henry* *Newill* of *Berk-shire*, Knight; *Sir Richard* *Bukley*, Knight; *Sir Henry* *Billingfley*, Knight; *Sir Daniel* *Dun*, Knight, Dean of the *Arches*; *Sir Edward* *Hobby*, Knight; *Sir John* *Savile*, Knight; *Sir Robert* *Wroth*, Knight; *Sir Thomas* *Chaloner*, Knight; *Sir Robert* *Maunsel*, Knight; *Sir Thomas* *Ridgeway*, Knight; *Sir Thomas* *Holcroft*, Knight; *Sir Thomas* *Hesketh*, Knight, Attorney of the Court of Wards; *Sir Francis* *Bacon*, Knight; *Sir Lawrence* *Tanfield*, Knight, Serjeant at Law; *Sir Henry* *Hubberd*, Knight, Serjeant at Law; *Sir John* *Bennet*, Doctor of the Laws; *Sir Henry* *Withrington*, *Sir Ralph* *Grey*, and *Sir Thomas* *Lake*, Knights, *Robert* *Askwith*, *Thomas* *James*, and *Henry* *Chapman*, Merchants, Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons; or any eight of the said Lords, and twenty of the said Commons. Which Commissioners shall have power to assemble, meet, treat, and consult with certain select Commissioners to be nominated and authorised by Authority of the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, concerning such Matters, Causes, and things; as they in their wisdoms shall think and deem convenient and necessary, for the honour of the King, and common good of both Kingdoms. Yet the good intentions of this Union took no effect, as will follow in the sequel of this History. But there were a great many good Laws made, which are too voluminous for this place, having a proper sphere of their own to move in.

Thus the King sits triumphing as it were, upon a Throne

An. Reg. 2.

An. Christi

1604.

Commis. for  
an Union.



An. Reg. 2.

An. Christi

1604.

Roaring Boys.

The Gun-pow-  
der Treason.Principal  
Actors.

of his Peoples *Affections*; and his *beginnings* had some settle-  
ment: for being loth to be troubled, he sought *Peace* every-  
where. But our inbred *distempers* lay upon the *Lee*, intermixt  
with other gross *dregs*, that the Princes *lenity*, and the Peoples  
*luxury* produced. For the King minding his *sports*, many rio-  
tous demeanours crept into the Kingdom, the *Sun-shine* of *Peace*  
being apt for such a *production*, upon the slime of the late *War*.  
The *Sword* and *Buckler* trade being now out of date, one *cor-  
ruption* producing another (the *City of London* being always  
a fit *Receptacle* for such, whose *prodigalities* and *wastes* made them  
Instruments of *Debaucheries*) divers *Sects* of *vitious Persons*, go-  
ing under the Title of *Roaring Boys*, *Bravadoes*, *Roysters*, &c.  
commit many insolencies; the *Streets* swarm night and day  
with bloody quarrels, private *Duels* fomented, especially be-  
twixt the *English* and *Scots*; many *Discontents* nourished in  
the *Countries*; betwixt the *Gentry* and *Commonalty*, about Inclo-  
sure (the meanest gaping after new hopes) growing in some  
places to a petty *Rebellion*. Daily *discord*s (incident to *peace* and  
*plenty*) betwixt private *Families*, *Papist* against *Protestant*, one  
Friend against another; the *Papists* being a strong and dan-  
gerous *Faction*, missing their *hopes*, strove to make the *Scots*  
more odious than they could make themselves, though some of  
them went so high as to counterfeit the Kings *Privy-Seal*, and  
make *Address*es thereby to *Foreign Princes*, for which one *Tho-  
mas Dowglas*, taken in the fact, was executed in *Smithfield*.  
Others were so insolent, as to quip and jeer the *English Nobility*,  
and other misdemeanours, which caused secret heart-burnings,  
and jealousies betwixt the *Nations*. But then comes a *Proclama-  
tion*, like a strong *Pill*, and carries away the grossest of these  
*humours*.

Something yet stuck, especially in the *Consciences* of the *Papish  
Party*, that could not be purged away without a *Toleration*, which  
they *Petition* for; but not being granted, they contrived one of  
the most Horrid and Stupendious *Mischiefs*, that ever entered into  
the *Hearts* of Men: For their *heat* of *malice* would not be quen-  
ched with the *Blood Royal*, but the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, the *Repre-  
sentative Body* of the whole Kingdom, United at *Westminster*,  
must be shattered in pieces, and dis-membred, by the blast of  
six and thirty Barrels of *Gun-powder*, which those dark Contri-  
vers had hid in a *Cellar* under the *Parliament House*, being di-  
scovered by a *light* from *Heaven*, and a *Letter* from one of the  
*Conspirators*, when the *fire* was already in their hands, as well as  
*rage* in their hearts, to put to the *Train*.

The principal of these *Contrivers*, was, *Robert Catesbie*, a  
Gentleman of a good plentiful *Estate*, who first hatched and  
brooded the *Plot*, and promised to himself the glory of an *Eter-  
nal Name*, by the *Propagation* of it; making choyce of *Thomas  
Percy*,



Percy, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, John Wright, Francis Tresham, Sir Everard Digby, and others, Gentlemen of good Estates (for the most part) and spirits as implacable and furious as his own; who like combustible matter took fire at the first motion, their zeal to the Roman cause burning within them, which nothing but the blood of Innocents can quench. The design thus set afoot, they bind themselves to secrecy, by those Sacraments which are the greatest ties upon the Soul, and Saint Garnet the Jesuit was their Confessor. The foundation being laid, every man betakes himself to his work, some to provide money; some materials. Percy was to hire the Cellars under the Parliament House, to lay Wood and Coal in, for his Winter-provision: Guido Faux, a desperate Russian (who was to give fire to the Train) was appointed to be his man to bring in the Wood and Coal. The Gunpowder provided in Flanders, is brought from Lambeth in the night, and covertly laid under the Wood. Thus they prepare all things ready for a Burnt-offering, against the day the Parliament should meet, which was to be upon the seventh of February. But the King for some Reasons of State (which at that time the dictates of Providence did much approve of) prorogued the Parliament of the fifth of November following, which scattered the Contrivers at present, and they were at their wits end; and some of them went beyond Seas, because they would not beat too much about the Covert, their materials being fitted; others that staid here persisted with Patience (made a Vice by them) and met often to consult how they should manage their great business, if it took effect. They looked upon the King and Prince, as already sacrificed to their Cruelty: And Percy undertook to dispatch the Duke of York. But because they must have one of the Blood Royal, that must serve as a center to adhere to, to keep all from Confusion, they meant to preserve the Lady Elizabeth, and make her Queen, that under her minority and innocency, they might the better establish their bloody Principles of Piety and Policy. They had designed the fatal day to be upon the fifth of November, when the King and both Houses were to meet, and that day they appointed a great Hunting-match at Dunsmore-beath in Warwick-shire, to be nearer the Lord Harington's House, where the Lady Elizabeth was. And they had by their horrid Art, and Experience, so fitted their Matches, that were to convey the fire to the Powder, that they could know a hundred Miles off, to a minute, when that Adonstrous Fiery Exhalation would break out.

Solacing themselves in this bloody expectation, and thinking their Conveyances under ground were not seen above by the Divine Discoverer, they stood like Vultures gaping for their Prey; when, behold! one tender-hearted Murderer among the

pack,

An. Reg. 2.

An. Christi  
1604.

1604.



An. Reg. 3.

An. Christi

1605.

A Letter to  
my Lord Mon-  
teagle.

pack, willing to save the Lord Monteagle, writ this Letter to him.

**M**R Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your Preservation, therefore I would wish you (as you tender your Life) to forbear your attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this Time. And think not sleightly of this advertisement; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This Counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you Good, and can do you no Harm: for the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter. I hope God will give you grace to make use of it, to whose Holy Protection I commend you.

Here is the Protection of the Holy God desired, a strange expression in so unholy an action, which is like their zeal, that made their children pass through fire to Moloch; what horrid madness kindles such sacrifices? The Lord Monteagle astonished at the Letter (though he understood it not) thinking there might be something in it of dangerous concernment, communicated the contents of it to the Earl of Salisbury, and some others of the Kings Council. Salisbury could not find out the Riddle, he concluded him either a fool or a mad-man that wrote it, by this expression, *The danger is past as soon as the Letter is burnt*. If the danger be past when the Letter is burnt, what needeth any warning? But he did not reach the meaning; for the Writers desire was to have the Letter burned, and then the danger would be past both to the writer and Receiver, if he had grace to make use of the warning. The King was Hunting the fearful Hare at Royston, while they layed this Snare for him at Westminster. As soon as he came to Whitehall, the Earl of Salisbury being of his intimate Councils, and principal Secretary, shewed him the Letter. The King considering it circumspectly (as Cicero said of the Sibyls works, *Id majus est attenti animi quam furentis*) said, *This is no Mad-mans writing*. There is a great Blow to be given, they shall not see it that feel it, which is some secret mischief. Many times fear is a profitable and an active servant, if it do not domineer and grow masterly. He was so sensible of a stroke, that he felt it (as it were) coming: Therefore the day before the Parliament should begin, he commanded the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, to make a strict search about the Parliament House, who accompanied with the Lord Monteagle, entred the Cellar under the House, which he found stuffed with Billet, Faggot, and Coal, and asking Whinyard of the wardrobe (who was House-keeper) what provisions they were, he said, he had let the Cellar to Mr. Thomas Percy (who was



was one of the Gentlemen Pensioners to the King) and close by in a corner of the Cellar stood *Faux*, in a gasty condition (being a raw-bon'd tall man) who being questioned, said, he was *Percies* servant. The Lord Chamberlain, that would make no noise, and bustle as that time, left both the *Engin* and *Engineer* as he found them, taking no further notice, but apprehended Just Cause to have the Cellars further searched; the Lord Mounteagle assuring himself, it was *Percie* that writ the Letter to him, as soon as he heard him named, for there were little intimacies betwixt them. The King with his Council advising what to do, resolved of a further search that night, committing the Trust to Sir Thomas Knevet, one of the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber, a Man of approved Fidelity; who with a Retinue suitable to such an Enterprize, coming to the Cellar about Midnight, he met the watchful Minister of Impiety, *Faux*, at the door, on whom he presently seized; and making further search, pulled out the core of all that horrid Contrivance. *Faux*, his under-ground Works being digged out, and seeing all unkennel'd, confessed the intention, and was only sorry it came not to perfection, saying, *God would have concealed it, and the Devil only discovered it.* In his pockets they found a Watch (which were not common then) and a Tinder box, the Engines to minute out his time to strike the stroke; so painful was he in his wickedness! This tough piece, upon examination by the Lords of the Council, could have little drawn from him; only he said again, *he was sorry it was not done.* But the Conspirators revealed themselves; for finding all discovered, they pack to *Dunsmore* to the Hunting-meeting, breaking open some Stables in *London*, and taking out divers Horses of Noblemen, that were put into Riders hands to manage, thinking to make a great Party: But the High-Sheriffs of *Warwickshire*, and *Worcestershire*, hunted these Fire-brand Foxes so, that they were forced (most of them) to Earth themselves in *Littletons* House at *Halbach*, and there *Piercie* and *Catesby* desperately sallying out, were both slain, so were *John Wright*, and *Christopher Wright*: *Thomas Winter*, *Francis Tresham*, and the rest, were taken; *Tresham* died of the Strangury in the Tower; *Thomas Winter*, *Guido Faux*, *Robert Keyes*, *Thomas Bates*, *Robert Winter*, late of *Hoodington* in *Worcestershire*, Esquire; *John Grant* of *Northbrook* in the County of *Warwick*, Esquire; *Ambrose Rookwood*, late of *Staningfield* in the County of *Suffolk*, Esquire; and Sir *Everard Digby* of *Gothurst* in *Buckinghamshire*, Knight, were executed according to their demerit.

This Prodigious Contrivance did not only stupifie the whole Kingdom with amazement, but Foreign Princes made their Wonderment also; And though, for the Propagation of the Catholick Cause, they might have Conscience enough to wish

An. Reg. 3.

An. Christi  
1605.

Traitors executed.



An. Reg. 3.

An. Christi  
1605.The Parlia-  
ment meet the  
9. Of Novemb.Rumors of the  
Kings death.

with it had taken Effect; yet they had *Policy* enough to Congratulate the *Discovery*; and some of them, to take off the asperity of the *Suspect*, sweetned their Expressions with many rich Gifts, and Presents, to the King and Queen. But this bloody Design, found in the hand of the Malefactors, grasping the *Mischief*, and confirmed by their own *Confessions* (being such *Spirits* as were fit *Boutefeus* for so desperate an Enterprize) was notwithstanding father'd upon the *Puritans* (as *Nero* did the burning of *Rome* upon the *Christians*) by some impudent and cunning *Jesuits* (whose practice is to deceive) if not quite to clear their party, yet by stirring this muddy water, to make that which is in it to appear the less perspicuous; and it is like the rest of their *Figments*, fit baits for *Ignorance* to nibble on: Which some years after I had opportunity at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, to make *Weston*, an old *Jesuit*, active in the *Powder-plot*, ingenuously to confess.

This preceded the second *Sessions* of the first *Parliament*, pro-rogued till the fifth of *November*, and upon the ninth they met; where with Hearts full of Fears and Jealousies, they ripped up the ground of the *Machination*, for discovery of the *Complotters*; and laid such a Foundation of good *Laws* against *Papists*, as might serve for a Bulwark in the time to come. The King was not unmindful of the Lord *Monteagle*, the first Discoverer of this Treason, for he gave to him and his Heirs for ever, two hundred pounds a year in Fee-farm *Rents*, and five hundred pounds a year besides, during his life, as a reward for this good service.

In the midst of the *Parliaments* Activity, a rumour was spread (by what strange means unknown) that the King was stabbed at *Okeham* (twenty miles from *London*, where he was Hunting) with a poysoned knife: The Court at *Whitehall*, the *Parliament* and *City*, took the *Alarm*, mustering up their Old Fears, every man standing at gaze, as if some new *Prodigie* had seized them; such a Terror had this late monstrous intended mischief imprinted in the spirits of the People, that they took Fire from every little Train of Rumour, and were ready to grapple with their own Destruction before it came. In the midst of this *Agony*, there came assurance of the Kings safety, which he was enforced to divulge by *Proclamation*, to re-establish the People. The *Spanish* Ambassador gave Sir *Lewis Lewknor*, Master of the Ceremonies, a Chain of Gold of good Value, for bringing him the news of the Kings safety, which presently resounded in the Court; and it was thought, he was so bountifal, either out of Terror, being afraid of the People in this Confusion, because it was rumor'd, that the King of Spain was a Fomenter of the Plot; or out of a desire to vindicate his Masters Honour, and take the *Odium* from him; for he had been solicited by divers *Jesuits*, together with these



these Conspirators, to invade England. The Principal of which Jesuits, called Henry Garnet (Provincial of the Order in England) was arraigned at Guild-hall, the twentieth of March 1605. and executed at the West end of St. Pauls soon afterwards.

Henry Lord Mordant, and Edward Lord Stuarton, not coming to the Parliament according to their Writ of Summons, were suspected to have knowledge of the Conspiracy, and so was the Earl of Northumberland from some presumptions, and all three were committed to the Tower. The two Barons (after some imprisonment) were redeemed by Fine in Star-chamber, but the Earl continued a Prisoner there for many years after.

In July this year the King of Denmark (Brother to the Queen) came in Person as a visitor, where he found their Shakings somewhat settled, their Terrors abated, and met with not only all those varieties that Riches, Power, and Plenty are capable to produce for satisfaction, where will and affection are the dispensers, but he beheld with admiration the stately Theatre, whereon the Danes for many hundred of years had acted their bloody parts: But how he resented their Exit, or the last Act of that black Tragedy, wherein his Country lost their interest, some Divine Power, that searches the capacious hearts of Princes can only discover. This short Month of his stay carryed with it as pleasing a countenance on every side, and of their Recreations and Pastimes, flew as high a flight, as Love mounted upon the wings of art and fancy, the suitable nature of the season, or Times swift foot could possibly arrive at. The Court, City, and some parts of the Country, with Banquetings, Masks, Dancings, Tilting, Barriers, and other Gallantry (besides the manly Sports of Wrestling, and the brutish Sports of bayting Wild-beasts) swelled to such a greatness, as if there were an intention in every particular man, this way to have blown up himself.

The seven and twentieth of May last, the Parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth of November following; but before they parted (having hearts full of affection for Gods great deliverance of the whole Kingdom from ruin and destruction) they made an Act to have the fifth of November for ever solemnized with publick Thanksgiving: Imputing the Discovery of the Treason to Gods inspiring the King with a Divine Spirit to interpret some dark phrases of the Letter, above, and beyond all ordinary construction. They attainted the blood of those Traitors that were Executed, as also, those that were slain in the field, or dyed in Prison. They made many good Laws, for the discovering and suppressing of Popish Recusants. And gave the King three intire Subsidies and six Fifteens. Besides four Subsidies of four shillings in the pound granted by the Clergy. But they put off the Treaty of Union, by an Act that referred it to be done as well any other Session of Parliament, so willing they

F

An. Reg. 4.

An. Christi  
1606.

The King of  
Denmarks first  
coming.

The fifth of  
Novemb. made  
Holy-day.



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bout a Union.

were to keep close to the Kings affections, and not to start from him. But the next *Session* (the King being loth to be longer delayed) the business of the *Union* was much pressed again, by some that knew the Kings mind, among whom, Sir Francis Bacon (now the Kings *Solicitor*) was a principal *Instrument*, who came prepared for it, and first moved the House of Commons, that the *Scots* might be *Naturalized* by *Act* of *Parliament*; which was opposed by divers strong and modest *Arguments*. Among which they brought in the comparison of *Abraham* and *Lot*, whose *Families* joyning, they grew to difference, and to those words, *Vade tu ad dextram, & ego ad sinistram*.

It was answered, That *Speech* brought the captivity of the one, they having disjoyned their strength.

The *Party opposing* said, If we admit them into our *Liberties*, we shall be over-run with them, as Cattle (naturally) pent up by a slight *Hedg*, will over it into a better *soyl*, and a Tree taken from a barren place will thrive to excessive, and exuberant Branches in a better, witness the multiplicities of the *Scots* in *Polonia*,

To which it was answer'd, That if they had not means, place, custom, and employment (not like *Beasts* but *Men*) they would starve in a plentiful *soyl*, though they came into it; and what spring-tide and confluence of that *Nation* have housed and famlied themselves among us, these four years of the Kings reign? And they will never live so meanly here as they do in *Polonia*; for they had rather discover their poverty abroad than at home. Besides, there is a question whether *England* be fully peopled, witness the drowned Grounds, and Common-wafts; the ruins and decays of ancient Towns in this *Realm*; Witness how many serve in the *Parliament* for desolate *Burroughs*; Witness our Wafts by Sea, as well as by Land, suffering the *Flemings* to carry away all our *Fishing*, the sinews of our industry being slackned, we want active *spirits* to corroborate them by their example: Besides the planting *Ireland*, fully abounding with Rivers, Havens, Woods, Quarries, good *Soyl*, and temperate Climate. No surcharge of people hath been prejudicial to Countreys, the worst will be an honourable *War*, to recover our ancient *Rights*, or revenge our *Injuries*, or to attain to the honour of our *Ancestors*. We should not forget the consideration of *Amplitude* and *Greatness*, and fall at variance about Profit, and *Recknings*, fitter for private persons than Kingdoms.

The other side objected, That the *Fundamental Laws* of both Kingdoms are divers, and it is declared, they shall so continue, and therefore it would not be reasonable to proceed to this *Naturalization*, whereby to indow them with our *Rights*, except they should receive, and submit to our *Laws*.

It



It was answered, That in the Administration of the world under God, the great Monarch, his Laws are divers; one Law in *Spirits*, another in *Bodies*, one Law in *Regions Celestial*, another in *Elementary*, and yet the *Creatures* are all one mass, or lump. That in the state of the Church, among People of several languages, and lineages, there is a *Communion of Saints*; and we are all fellow-Citizens, and *Naturalizants* of the *Heavenly Jerusalem*, and yet divers *Ecclesiastical Laws*, *Policies*, and *Hierarchies*; for the *Laws* are rather *Figura Republica*, than *Forma*; rather bonds of *Perfection*, than *Intireness*. That in *Ireland*, *Jersey*, *Gernsey*, and the Isle of *Man*, our *Common Laws* are not in force, and yet they have the benefit of *Naturalization*.

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To which it was replied, that these are only Flourishes of *Rhetorick*; for God (who is the only *Disposer* of all his *Creatures*) keeps them in *Order* and *Obedience* to Him, by a Law which they cannot deviate from, unless he withdraws his preserving Hand from them: But betwixt Man and Man, or Realm and Realm, there can be no such Tie, or Obligation, to hold an *Unity*, where they have various *Laws*, and various *Priviledges*. And for the immunities given to the *Irish* (for some *Ages* past) they were *English Colonies* sent there to plant, being a great part of them *Natives* with us, of the same blood and stock, with whom we are ingrafted by Time, and made (as it were) one Body, the better to secure their obedience, and hinder any *League* or *Amity* with a *Foreign Nation*. But *Scotland* hath an *intire Union* with the *French*, continued for some hundreds of years, that is *indissolvable*, and therefore *incompetent*, yet to the *freedoms* of *England*. When we have had as much experience of the *Friendship* of *Scotland*, as of them, we shall incline to a more intimate *Union*. Besides there is an inequality in the *Fortunes* of the two *Nations*; and by this *Commixture*, there may ensue advantage to them, and loss to us.

To the latter part was answered, *Beatius est dare quam accipere*: And *Edward* the First, among other Commendations of *war*, and *Policy*, none was more celebrated than his purpose and enterprize, for the Conquest of *Scotland*; as not bending his *Designs* to glorious Acquests abroad, but solid strength at home; which, if it had succeeded, could not but have brought in those inconveniences, of the *Commixture* of a more opulent Kingdom with a less; for it is not the yoke either of *Laws* or *Arms*, that can alter the nature of the *Climate*, or the nature of the *Soil*; neither is it the manner of the *Commixture*, that can alter the nature of the *Commixture*; and therefore if it were good for us then, it is good for us now; and not to be prized the less, because we paid not so dear for it.



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They strive further to prove, That the benefit of *Naturalization* is by *Law*, to as many as have been, or shall be born, since the Kings coming to the *Crown*; for there is no more than to bring the *Ante-nati* unto the *degree* of *Post-nati*, that *Men* grown may be in no worse case than *Children*, and elder *Brothers* in no worse condition than younger *Brothers*. That if any object the *Law* is not so, but that the *Post-nati* are *Aliens* as the rest, it is contrary to the Reason of *Law*. The Wisdom of the Common Laws of *England* is admirable, in distribution of the Benefit, and Perfection of the *Law*, according to the several conditions of *Persons*. The *Degrees* are four, two of *Aliens*, and two of *Subjects*: The first *Degree* is of an *Alien* born under a King or State, that is an *Enemy*; if such an one come into the Kingdom without safe *conduct*, it is at his *peril*, the *Law* giveth him no *protection*, neither of *Body*, *Lands*, nor *Goods*; so as if he be slain, there is no remedy by any appeal, at the Parties sute, though she were an *English Woman*; though at the Kings sute the Case may be otherwise, in regard of the offence to the *Peace*, and *Crown*. The second *Degree* is of an *Alien* that is born under *Faith* and *Allegiance* of a King, or State, that is a *Friend*; unto such a Person the *Law* doth impart a greater benefit and protection concerning things personal, transitory, and moveable, as *Goods* and *Chattels*, *Contracts*, and the like, but not concerning *Free-hold*, and *Inheritance*; and the *Reason* is, because he may be an *Enemy*, though he be not; for the State where he was born, may enter into *Hostility*; and therefore as the *Law* hath but a Transitory assurance of him, so it rewards him with Transitory *benefits*. The third *Degree* is of a *Subject*, who having been an *Alien*, is made free by *Charter*, and *Denization*: To such a one the *Law* doth impart yet a more ample benefit, for it gives him a power to purchase *Free-hold*, and *Inheritance* to his own use, and likewise inables his *Children* (born after his *Denization*) to inherit: But yet he cannot make *Title*, or convey any *Pedigree* from any *Ancestour Paramount*; for the *Law* thinks not good to make him in the same *Degree* with a *Subject* born, because he was once an *Alien*, and so might have been an *Enemy*; and *Affections* cannot be so settled by any benefit, as when from their *Nativity* they are inbred, and inherent. The fourth *Degree*, and the perfect *Degree*, is of such a *Person*, as neither is *Enemy*, nor can be *Enemy* in time to come, nor would have been *Enemy* at any time past; and therefore the *Law* gives unto him the full benefit of *Naturalization*. Now if these be the true steps and paces of the *Law*, no man can deny, but whosoever is born under the Kings obedience, never could, in aliquo puncto temporis, be an *Enemy*; and therefore in reason of *Law* is *Naturalized*. So though the *Scots* seem to be in Reason, *Naturales ipso jure*, yet it is not *superfluous* to have it done by



by *Parliament*; for it will shew the *World* our love to them, and good agreement with them.

Then they shewed by authority of *History*, and *Experience*, the Inconveniencies that may grow, if this *Union* of *Naturalization* doth not close, and bind up the Veins; so as to make it one perfect Body; For else it may be apt to open, and break out again upon all *occasions*, and *relapse* to the detriment of both: Ripping up ancient *Stories* of the *Romans* and *Latines*, and the *Wars* they had, meerly for want of this *Union*, and never were at quiet till they enjoyed it. Then between the *Peloponnesians*, and the *Spartans* the like. And from ancient *Stories* to the Kingdom of *Arragon* and *Castile*; united in the Persons of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, severed and divided from the rest of *Spain* in Priviledges, and directly in this point of *Naturalization*, or capacity of *Inheritance*. But what came of this? A *Rebellion* grew among them, which a *Royal Army* with difficulty suppressed, and (they being made one incorporated Body with the rest of *Spain*) perpetuated *Peace* to *Posterity*.

The like example was betwixt *Florence* and *Pisa*. And whatsoever Kingdoms and States have been United, and that *Union* corroborated by the Bonds of *Naturalization*, you shall never observe them afterward, upon any occasion to break or sever again: Whereof divers Provinces in *France*, by time annexed to that *Crown*, are further witnesses. So that except they proceed to this *Naturalization*, these *Realms* will be in continual danger to divide and break again.

Next they shew the Benefits to be Security and Greatness. Surety, by stopping up the Postern-gates of our Enemies, so that we shall not be so much a temptation to the ambition of Foreigners, when their Approaches and Avenues are taken away: For having so little success when they had these advantages, they will have less comfort when they want them. And Greatness by this *Union* must needs follow: For having so many Iron-handed men in these three Kingdoms, we shall not only pluck Gold from the (once poor) *Spaniards* *Indian-mines*, but by our Arms keep in awe the whole *Christian World*.

These Arguments prest with gilded Oratory by the Solicitor and his partakers, could not prevail, though urged with all the power wit could invent, or Hope aim at: For being new budded in Court, he was one of those that smoothed his way to a full ripeness, by liquorish and pleasing passages, which he at last attained to, being made Lord Chancellor of *England*. But such sweets, though delightful at present, breed rottenness in the end: for he withered, and came to nothing, as in due time shall be expressed.

But the King (like a great Sea) being troubled when such cross winds are boistrous, sent for both Houses of *Parliament* to *White-hall*

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An. Reg. 5.

An. Christi

1607.

The Kings  
Speech to the  
Parliament a-  
bout the Uni-  
on.

hall the last of *March*, 1607. to calm them; where betwixt a Sun-shine of fair Words, and a Cloud of Anger, he colours over some of the *Arguments* that had been used, and urges others for his best advantage; with a plain *natural bluntness* fit for Kings. He tells them, the *Union* he desires, is of *Laws* and *Persons*, such a *Naturalizing* as may make one *Body* of both *Kingdoms*; that as there is but *Unus Rex*, so there may be but *Unus Grex*, & *Una Lex*. His intention is not, as some idly alledg, to give *England* the labour and sweat, and *Scotland* the fruit and sweet, vainly talking of transplanting *Trees* out of barren ground into better, and lean *Cattle* out of bad pasture into a more fertile soyl. Can any man displant them unless they will? Or is *Scotland* so strong, to pull them out of their *houses*? Whereas the waste grounds in *Scotland* would rather be planted by Swarms of People that cumber the *Streets* here.

First, He desires that all Hostile *Laws* should cease, being the King of *England* cannot make War with the King of *Scotland*.

Secondly, That there should be Community of Commerce, he being no Stranger, but descended of their ancient Kings: and how can he be *Natural Liege-Lord* to both, and they *Strangers* to one another? And shall they that be under the same Allegiance be no freer, nor have no better Respect than *Frenchmen* and *Spaniards*?

Thirdly, They all agree they are no *Aliens*, and yet will not allow them to be *Natural*. That he was informed by their own *Judges* and *Lawyers*, at his first access to the *Crown*, that there was a difference between the *Ante* and *Post-nati* of each Kingdom; which caused him to publish a *Proclamation*, that the *Post-nati* were *Naturalized* by his accession; but he confesses, *Judges* may err, so may the *Lawyers* on their side: Therefore he admonishes them to beware to disgrace, either his *Proclamations*, or the *Judges*, for so they may disgrace both their *King* and *Laws*; who have power, when the *Parliament* is ended, to try them both for *Lands* and *Lives*.

And for some of them who with their flattering *speeches* would have the *Ante-nati* preferred, alledging their merit in my service, such *Discourses* have *mel in ore*, & *fel in corde*; carrying an outward appearance of love to the *Union*, but a contrary resolution in their hearts. For the King would have them know, it lies within the compass of his *Prerogative* to prefer whom he pleases to any *Dignity Civil* or *Ecclesiastical*. But he is so far from prejudicing the *English*, that he is willing to bind himself to reasonable *Restrictions*. Besides, it is a special Point of the Kings *Prerogative*, to make *Aliens*, *Citizens*; and in any case wherein the *Law* is thought not to be clear, *Rex est Judex*; for he is *Lex loquens*, supplying the *Law* where it wants. But this he speaks,



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speaks as knowing what belongs to a King, not intending to press it further than may agree with their loves, and stand with the conveniency of both Nations.

The Inconveniencies supposed to arise from Scotland, are pretended to be,

1. An evil affection in the Scots to the Union.
2. That the Union is incomperible.
3. That the Gain is small, or none.

If this be so, Why is there talk of an Union? For the first, They alledg the averfeness of the Scots, from the Preface, and Body of their Act; where they decare, they will remain an absolute and free Monarchy, and not alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. And yet in the beginning of this Session of Parliament, the opinion was current, that Scotland was greedy of this Union, and pursued it with so much violence, that they cared not for the strictness of the Conditions, so they might attain the substance, and end. And yet they now say, they are backwards, which is a Contradiction, for how can they both beg and deny the same thing, at one and the same time? And by preserving their Fundamental Laws, they mean, those Laws by which Confusion is avoided, and their Kings Succession, and Monarchy maintained. To which he Declares, That he is in descent three hundred years before Christ, not meaning (as they do) their Common Law; for the Scots have no Law but that which is Jus Regis. And for their desire of continuing a free Monarchy, he hopes they mean not he should set Garrisons over them, as the Spaniards do over Sicily and Naples.

And then he tells them, That he governs Scotland with his Pen; he writes, and doth more by a Clerk of the Council, than others could do by the Sword. And though he knows there are many seditious Persons in that Kingdom, that may talk lewdly enough, yet none of them ever spake dishonourably of England, as they have done of Scotland: For if any man speaks any thing uncomely there, the Chancellor by his Authority interrupts him; but here they have freedom to speak what they list, and as long as they list, without contradiction. Then the King shews what the Laws of Scotland are.

1. Those which concern Tenures, Wards, Liveries, Signiories, and Lands, are drawn out of the Chancery of England, brought by James the First (who was bred up here) and differ only in terms.

The second are Statute Laws, to which he hopes they will be no Strangers.

The third is the Civil Law, brought out of France by James the Fifth; and serve only to supply in such Cases, where the Municipal Laws are defective: So that he hopes it is no hard matter to unite the People together, who are in effect already

subject



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subject to the same Law. And whereas it is *Objected*, that the King of Scotland hath not a *Negative Voice* in *Parliament*, but must pass the *Laws* agreed on by the *Lords* and *Commons*: He assures them, that the *form* of *Parliament* there, is nothing inclined to *Popularity*: For about twenty days before the *Parliament* begins, *Proclamation* is made throughout the Kingdom, that all *Bills* to be exhibited that *Session*, be delivered to the *Master of the Rolls* by a certain day: Then they are brought to the King, perused, and considered by him, and only such as he allows, are put into the *Chancellors* hand, to be propounded that *Parliament*, and no other. And if any man speak of any other Matter than is in this *Form* first allowed by him, the *Chancellor* tells him, that there is no such *Bill* allowed by the King: And when they are past for *Laws*, he ratifies and confirms them, first racing out what he doth not approve of. And if this be to be called a *Negative Voice* in *Parliament*, then he hath one.

2.

For the *Union* betwixt the *French* and the *Scots*, which makes this *Union* so incomperible, he assures them, it was a *League* only made between the *Kings*, not the *People*. For *Scotland* being solicited by *England* and *France* at one Time, for a *League* Offensive, and Defensive, against each others *Enemies*. There was a great *Disputation* maintained in favour of *England*, that they being our *Neighbours* joyned in one *Continent*, a strong and *Powerful Nation*, it would be more *Security* to the State of *Scotland* to joyn in *Amity* with *England*, than with *France*, divided by the *Sea*, where they must abide the hazard of wind and weather, and other *Accidents* that might hinder relief.

But on the contrary, it was alledged in the favour of *France*, That *England* ever sought to conquer *Scotland*, and therefore there would never be kept any sound *Amity*: Whereas *France*, lying more remote, claimed no interest, and therefore would be found a more constant and faithful *Friend*, so it was concluded on their Part. But by the *Tenour* it was ordered to be renewed, and confirmed from King to King successively, by the mediation of their *Ambassadors*, and therefore merely *personal*. And so it was renewed in the *Queen* his *Mothers* time, but not by assent in *Parliament*; which it could not have wanted, if it had been a *League* of the *People*: And in the *Kings* Time, when it came to be ratified, because it appeared to be in *Odium Tertii*, it was by him left un-renewed, in consideration of his *Title* to the *Crown*.

3.

For the Profit and Commodity that shall arise to *England* by this *Union*, Who is so ignorant that doth not know the gain will be great? Do they not gain by the *Union* of *Wales*? And is not *Scotland* greater than *Wales*? Shall not *Lands*, *Seas*, and *Person* be added to their *Greatness*? Two *Snow-balls* put together



gether grow greater ; two Houses joyned make one the larger, and two Castle-walls made into one, makes one as thick and strong as both. And he professes, he seeks this *Union* only to advance the greatness of their *Empire* here in *England*, yet with such caution as may stand with the weal of both States. What is now desired, hath oft been sought, and not obtained, to refuse it then now were double *iniquity*, And for their security in such reasonable points of *Restriction*, which he shall agree to, they need not doubt his inclination : For he will never say any thing he will not promise, nor promise any thing which he will not swear, nor swear any thing which he will not perform.

This urged with asseveration might have wrought much with the *Parliament*, but that they apprehended a great inconvenience in such an *Union*, where the Laws and Government are of different *natures*. All were not *Romans* that were born subjects to the *Roman Empire*, though *St. Paul* was born one, the *Centurion* was a purchaser. For notwithstanding all the former *Arguments* by the King, and his Ministers, the *Parliament* knew that it is true, That if *Scotland* had been Conquered, the only way to tie them to obedience, were to let them taste the sweets of *English Liberties*. But to let them sit Triumphant upon their own *priviledges*, and roam about among the *English Freedoms*, were to make them straggle too much. The *Scots* would not lessen, nor in the least derogate from the *dignity* of their long continued *Monarchy*, and the *English* thought they had no reason to come to them to derogate from themselves. The *Parliament* only feared the Kings *Power* would have such an influence upon the *Judges* of the Kingdom, that the *Scots* would be *naturalized* too soon, they were resolved not to be accessory to it : which indeed some two years after was confirmed in *Calvin's* case of *post-nati*, reported by the Lord Chief Justice *Cook*, who was fit metal for any *stamp Royal*, and adjudged by him, the Lord Chancellor *Ellesmere*, and most of the *Judges* of the Kingdom in the *Exchequer Chamber*, though many strong and valid *Arguments* were brought against it. (*such Power is in the breath of Kings!*) and such soft stuff are *Judges* made of, that they can vary their *Precedents*, and model them into as many shapes as they please. And thus this Case stood like a *Statue* cloathed by the Lord Chief Justice in the *vulgar Language* (when the rest of his *Reports* spoke an unknown Tongue) that the Kingdom might take more particular notice, that the *Scots* were as free in *England* as themselves, yet it fell not out to their wishes. But all that could be gotten from the *Parliament*, was, That the Laws of *hostility* that were anciently made betwixt *England* and *Scotland* were repealed, that the old grudges which caused the *Dis-union* (the War in the members) might be taken away. And

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An. Christi

1607.

The Parliament declined the Union.



An. Reg. 6.

An. Christi  
1608.

in the said *Act* they provided, That if a *natural* born *subject* of *England* did commit any misdemeanour in *Scotland*, and fly into *England*, he should be tried where he was taken, and not carried into *Scotland* to receive his judgment there; Till such time (which are the very words of the *Act*) as both *Kingdoms* shall be made one in *Laws* and *Government*, which is the thing so much desired, as that wherein the full perfection of the blessed *Union* (already begun in the *Kings* *Royal* person) consisteth. And further they went not: For they found and feared the old *enmity* would yet a while continue; for since the *Kings* coming into *England*, the loose and uncomposed *Borderers*, that lived upon rapine and spoil (seeking new benefits from new changes) had broke out and committed many insolencies, who though they were suppressed by the Forces of *Barwick* and *Carlisle*, and many of them suffered in it, yet *custom* and *habit* had bred in them a *natural* *Perity*, which could only be restrained by giving freedom to the *Laws*, that within a short time gave bound to that *barbarous animosity*. The *Laws* made in *Scotland* to the prejudice of the *English* were likewise repealed there, so that all passages were made smooth on both sides. This *Session* also produced divers good *Laws* for the benefit of the *Common-wealth*.

But this *Session* brought in no money, that is as the blood of the *subject*, which He (as a wise *Physician*) would not strain from them the ordinary way, lest the sense of it should bring the more fears and faintings with it, but by laying on little Burthens at first, he not only inured them to bear greater, but made them sweat out some of that *humor* insensibly, though they felt it afterward, when they found the weight laid upon their shoulders, only (as they conceived) to daub other mens with bravery. For the *Kings* Bounty was seen by the vulgar eye to overflow in many little *Rivulets*, who knew the golden streams that out-faced the Sun came not from the *Norths* cold climate, but were drained out of the fountains of their labor. They could not endure to see their fellow *Subjects* grow fat, by what should be their nourishment. Collecting that the *King* had received three hundred and fifty thousand pounds subsidies, due to the late *Queen*, besides what the *Parliament* had given him. And fearing that *Proclamations* (who were indeed very active *Ministers*) would now become *Laws*, ushering in the *Kings* will with large strides upon the peoples *Liberties*, who lay down while they slept over them. The ingenious sort, sensible of this incroaching *Monarchy*, brake out into private *murmur*, which by degrees (being of a light nature) carried a Cloud with it, by which the wise *Pilots* of the *State*, foreseeing a Storm gathering, strive to dissipate it the next *Session* of *Parliament*, which was held the nineteenth of *February*, in the seventh year of our *Kings* *Reign*.



Not long after this, the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord High Treasurer, died suddenly, as he sat at the *Council Table*; which gave occasion to some persons disaffected to him (as what eminent Officer that hath the managing of Moneys can please all) to speak many things to his *Dishonour*. But they considered not, that besides the *Black worm* and the *White* (day and night, as the Riddle is) that are gnawing constantly at the root of this tree of Life, there are many insensible Diseases, as *Apoplexies*, whose *Vapors* suddenly extinguish the *Animal Spirits*; and *Apostems* both in the upper, and middle *Region* of *Man*, that often drown and suffocate both *Animal* and *Vital*; who are like imbodyed *Twins*, the one cannot live without the other; if the *Animal Spirits* fail, the *Vital* cannot subsist, if the *Vitals* perish, the *Animal* give over their operations. And He that judges ill of such an *Act* of *Providence*, may have the same hand, at the same time, writing within the Palace walls of his own *Body*, the same *Period* to his *Lives earthly Empire*.

The Earl of *Salisbury* succeeded him, a man nourished with the milk of *Policy*, under his father the Lord *Burley* (famous for Wisdom in his *Generation*) a Courtier from his infancy, Battled by Art, and Industry, under the late *Queen*, mother of her *Country*. Though *Nature* was not propitious to his *Outside* (being Crooked backt) she supplied that want with admirable indowments within. This man the King found *Secretary*, and Master of the *wards*; and to these he added the *Treasurers staff*, knowing him to be the staff of his *Treasury*: For he had knowledge enough to pry into other *Mens* Offices aswell as his own, and knew the ways of disbursing the Kings moneys. The Earl of *Northampton*, he made Lord *Privy Seal*; and these were the two prime wheels of his triumphant *Chariot*. The Earl of *Suffolk* was made Lord *Chamberlain* before, but he came far behind in the management of the Kings affairs, being a *Spirit* of a more *Grosser* Temper, fitter to part a fray, and Compose the differences of a disordered *Court*, than a *Kingdom*. Upon the Shoulders of the two first the King laid the *Burthen* of his business: For though he had many *Lords* his Creatures, some by *Creation*, and some by insinuation (for Kings will never want supple-hand *Courtiers*) and the *Bishops*; being his *Dependents*, the most of them tending by direct Lines towards him, as the *Center* of their advancement; so that He (like the *Supreme Power*) moved this upper *Region*, for the most part; and that had an influence upon the lower, in inferior *Orbs*; yet these two noble Men were the two great *Lights* that were to discover the Kings mind to the *Parliament*, and by whose *Heat*, and *Vigor*, the blessed fruits of *Peace*, and *Plenty*, should be produced.

The Lord Treasurer (by a Command from the King) instructs both *Houses* in their business, and what they shall do well to in-

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An. Christi

1609.

The death of the Earl of Dorset suddenly.

The Earl of Salisbury made Treasurer.

Salisbury and Northampton Sticklers for the King.



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1609.



list upon this *Session*. First, To supply his Majesties wants. Secondly, To ease the people of their Grievances. They go commonly yoakt together; for the peoples Grievances are the Kings Wants, and the Kings Wants are the peoples Grievances, How can they be separated? If the King will always want, the people will always suffer: For Kings when they do want, lay commonly *lawless* impositions on the people, which they must take off again with a *sum* of money, and then they want again to a continued *vicissitude*.

These two Propositions are sweetned by him with a third: Which is to make the *Parliament* witnesses of those great *favours*, and *honours*, that his Majesty intended his Royal Son, Prince Henry, in creating him Prince of *wales*: Which though the King might do without a *Parliament*, and that divers Kings his *Predecessors* had done so, (as by many *precedents* was manifested) yet being desirous to have a happy *Union* betwixt him and his People, he would have nothing resound ill in their *ears*, from so eminent an instrument to the Kingdoms good as his Son. Then they excuse the Kings *necessities*, proceeding from his great *disbursements*. For the three hundred and fifty thousand pounds *Subsidies*, due in the late *Queens* time, he received with one hand, and paid her Debts with another, redeeming the *Crown Lands* which she had morgaged to the City. He kept an *Army* of nineteen thousand men in *Ireland*, for some time a foot; wherein a great many of the *Nobility* were Commanders, and other deserving *Soldiers*, that would have been exposed to want and penury, if not supplied: And it was not safe for the King to trust the inveterate *malice* of a new reconciled *Enemy*, without the *Sword* in his hand. The late *Queens* Funeral Charges were reckon'd up, which they hoped the *Parliament* would not repine at: Nor was it fit the King should come in as a private Person, bringing in one *Crown* on his head, and finding another here; or his *Royal Consort*, with our *future Hopes* (like so many precious *Jewels*) exposed to *Robbers*, without a *Guard* and *Retinue*? How fit was the *Magnificence* at the King of *Denmarks* being here? And how just that *Ambassadors* from Foreign Princes (more than ever this Crown received) should find those Entertainments and Gratuities, the want whereof would put a dim lustre abroad upon the most sparkling Jewels of the Crown; Besides the necessary Charge of sending *Ambassadors* to others, being concurrent and mutual *Civilities* among Princes.

That these are the causes of the Kings wants, and not his irregular Bounty, though a *magnificent* mind is inseparable from the Majesty of a King. If he did not give, his *subjects* and *servants* would live in a *miserable Climate*; And for his Bounty to those that were not born among us, it must be remembred, he

was



was born among them; and not to have them taste of the blessing he hath attained, were to have him change his *Vertue* with his *Fortune*. Therefore they desire the Kings wants may be supplied; a thing easie to be granted, and not to be valued by Wise-men, nor spoken of without contempt. *Philosophy* saith, that all *Riches* are but food and rayment, the rest is *nugatorium quiddam*: And that it is but *purior pars terra*, and therefore but *crassior pars aqua*, a thing unworthy the denial to such a King who is not only the wisest of Kings, but the very *Image* of an *Angel*, that hath brought good tidings, and settled us in the fruition of all good things. He whose depth of Knowledg as well as Conscience, deserves the Title of *Fidei defensor*; whose numerous *Issue* makes Foreign Princes study to keep their own, not look abroad. He that hath shut the back-door of the Kingdom, and placed two Lions, a red and a yellow to secure it; who would have us live under our own *Olive*, that we may *latari & benefacere*. That none will wonder at the Want, or startle at the supply, but such as study to serve their own turns, and believe nothing but what they find written in the *stories* of their own ignorance. Among which those are to be reckon'd, who (hearing of an *Order* to bind up the printed *Proclamations* in a book, that the better notice may be taken of the things contained in them) have raised a bruit, that it was intended this *Parliament* to make *Proclamations* equal to the *Laws*, which never entred into the Kings heart; who is so far from governing by will and power, that he will yield to any motion from them, wherein they shall hold a just *Diameter*, and proportion among themselves; and observe those *Duties* due to a great and gracious King.

Thus these Lords did please themselves and the King, by striving to keep the people in the milky way of *Obedience*, which they had long suckt in, and found the *sweet* of it tending to nourishment, not yet meeting any *Callous*, or *Brawny*-constitution (which must harden them by degrees) nor yet finding their own *Temper*s grown Robust enough, by so harsh a diet as afterwards they met with. They therefore are willing to go on in the way pointed out to them, as *Pupils* follow their *Masters*, minding rather the *smoothness* of the *Tra&t* they saw, than the roughness of the end. Yet some of them, whose hopes were not so high mounted, and their *spirits* more; spoke plainly, That the whole wealth of England would not serve the Kings vast Bounty; therefore it was a vain thing to give him, that would give it away again: That Gold and Silver in *Edenburgh* now in our *Solomon's* time are like the stones in the streets, never so much glittering there, like a perpetual *spring-time*. Besides they look upon the Kings incroachments upon the publick liberty, by undermining the *Laws*, taking notice of some expressions

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The High-  
Commission a  
grievance.The Kings  
Speech to  
both Houses.

expressions that fell from him publickly at his dinner, in derogation of the *Common Law*, extolling highly the *Civil Law* before it; and approving a Book lately written by Doctor *Cowell*, a Civilian, against it: Which nettled our great *Lawyers*, that had not some of them been raised so high, that they could not with that *Court-gag* look downwards, it had bred a contest.

The *High-Commission* also began now to swell into a Grievance, which the *Parliament* complained of. Seldom is *Authority* and *Power* exercised with *Moderation*: Every man must conform to the *Episcopal* way, and quit his hold in *Opinion*, or safety. That *Court* was the Touch-stone to try whether men were metal for their *stamp*; and if they were not soft enough to take such impressions as were put upon them, they were made malleable there, or else they could not pass current. This was the beginning of that mischief, which when it came to a full ripeness, made such a bloody Tincture in both Kingdoms, as never will be got out of the *Bishops* Lawn-sleeves. And though these Apples of strife thrown in the way did a little retard the course in hand, yet they carried not the prize: For the King according to his old wont (like a cunning *Hunter*) when they began to run counter, called them off, and at *White-hall* by one of his *Lectures* he strives to bring them into the way again; By laying himself open as in a Glass, wherein, if they could not see his heart, they might scent out his meaning, and so follow the chace which was to be pursued.

He tells them, though the Kings heart be in the hands of the Lord, yet he will set it before the eyes of the people: Assuring them that he never meant to govern by any Law, but the Law of the Land; though it be disputed among them, as if he had an intention to alter the Law, and govern by the absolute Power of a King. He knew, said he, the Power of Kings, resembling it to the *Power Divine*: For as God can create and destroy, make and unmake at his pleasure, so Kings can give life and death, judg all, and be judged of none. They can exalt low things, and abase high things, making the subjects like men at Chess, a pawn to take a Bishop or a Knight. (But he left out the power of a Pawn to take a Queen, or check a King). And when he had raised the Kings power to the height, with *Vos dii estis*, he brings them down again, with, *They shall die like men*: And that all Kings who are not Tyrants or perjur'd, will bound themselves within the limits of their Laws, and they that perswade them the contrary, are Vipers and Pests both against them and the Common-wealth. Yet as it is Blasphemy to dispute what God may do, so it is Sedition in Subjects to dispute what a King may do in the height of his power. And as he will not have his subjects discourse of what he may do, so he will do nothing



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thing but what shall be *consonant* to *Law* and *Reason*. Then he strives to mitigate the sharpness of the words dropt from him at his Table to the *disparagement* of the *Common Law*, and assures them, though he likes the *Civil Law* very well, as being *Lex Gentium*, which maintains intercourse with foreign Nations, and fitted to the *Ecclesiastical Courts*, *Court of Admiralty*, and *Courts of Request*, yet he is so far from disavowing the *Common Law*, that he protests, if he were to chuse a new *Law* for this Kingdom, he would prefer it before any other *National Law*, yea, the *Law of Moses*, nay, without *blasphemy*, the very *Law of God*. Then he recalls himself, and tells them, That though for this *Nation* he had preferred the *Common Law* to the *Law of God*, yet it is inferior to the *Judicial Law*: For no Book, or *Law* is free from *corruption*, but the Book and *Law of God*.

And therefore he could wish that three things specially were purged out of *Common Law*.

First, That it were written in the *vulgar Tongue*, and made plain to the peoples understanding, that they might know what to obey; that the *Lawyers* in the *Law*, like the *Romish Priests* in the *Gospel*, might not keep the people in *ignorance*.

Secondly, That the *Common Law* might have a settled Text in all *Cases*, for being grounded upon old *Customs*, *Reports*, and *Cases* of former *Judges*, called *Responsa prudentum*, which are not binding (for divers times *Judges* disclaim them, and recede from the *Judgment* of their *Predecessors*) it were good upon mature deliberation, that the *Exposition* of the *Law* were set down by *Act of Parliament*, that the people might know what to depend upon.

Thirdly, There is in the *Common Laws* divers contrary *Reports* and *Precedents*, and divers *Statutes* and *Acts of Parliament*, that do cross one another, being so penned, that they may be taken in divers *senses*, therefore he could wish, they might be reviewed, and reconciled. And whereas he is thought an *Enemy* to *Prohibitions*, he saith he is not ignorant of the *necessity* of them, if every *stream* might run in its own *chanel*, but the overflowing, and super-abundance of them, in every Court, striving to bring most grist to their own Mill, was a distemper fit to be cured, therefore he did not disallow the Use but the Abuse.

Then he closes with the House of Commons, and not only thanks them for the *Bonfire* they made of certain Papers which were presented *Grievances* from some discontented *murmuring spirits*, but he instructs them how to receive *Grievances* hereafter: In which he would have them careful to avoid three things.

The first, That they meddle not with the main points of Government,



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vernment, that is his *craft*, *Tractent fabrilis fabri*. To meddle with that were to lessen him, who hath been thirty years at the Trade in *Scotland*, and served an Apprentiship of seven years here, therefore here needs no *Phormios* to teach *Hannibal*.

Secondly, He would not have such ancient Rights as he hath received from his *Predecessors* accounted *Grievances*, that were to judg him unworthy to injoy what they left him.

And lastly, That they should be careful not to present that for a *Grievance*, which is established by a *Law*; for it is very undutiful in *Subjects* to press their King wherein they are sure to be denied. *Complaints* may be made unto them of the *High-Commissioners*, let the abuse appear then, and spare not, there may be *errors* among them, but to take away the *Commission* is to derogate from him, and it is now in his thoughts to rectifie it in a good proportion.

Then he shews the emergent cause of his great expences, since his coming to the Crown, which makes him desire a supply from them, confirming what the *Lords* formerly delivered; wherein he said, when they opened his *necessities* unto them, his *purse* only labour'd, now his *desires* are taken notice of both at home and abroad, his *Reputation* labours as well as his *Purse*; for the *World* will think it want of *love* in them, or *merit* in him, that both lessen'd their *hearts*, and tied up their *hands* towards him.

Thus the King expressed himself to the Parliament, desiring their assistance, assuring them he had no intention to alter the *Government*, though he wished the *Laws* might be rectified. But his *King-craft* (as he calls it) failed in striking at the *Common-Law*, and he was convinced in it, how dangerous it was to give too much knowledg to the *people*; the two great *Hammers* of the *State*, the *Church-man* and *Lawyer*, that work the people to obedience, upon the two *Anvils* of *Conscience* and *Policy*, beat him to the understanding of it, so that ever after he joyned with them, and that three fold Cord was not easily dissolved. But the times not being ripe yet to produce any thing but the fruits of *obedience*, they after this Lesson settled themselves to make divers good *Laws*, which they purchased at the rate of a *Subsidie* and a *Fifteen*.

A Proclamation  
against  
new buildings.

About this time. the *Suburbs* betwixt *London* and *Westminster*, had many ruinous Piles of Building, which Age had worn out, and *Industry*, and *Riches* (the two great supporters of this *momentary Eternity*) did strive to renew. Among the rest the *Lord Treasurer* erected out of the *rubbish* of the old *stables* of *Durham-house*, a goodly *Fabrick*, to be *Rival* to the *Old Exchange*, which the King by his *presence* dignified with the name of *Britains Bourse*. But he took notice of the swelling Buildings upon  
new



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new foundations, which he looked upon as a Rickety constitution in the Head of the Kingdom, being Inviters of a Flux of humours, and diseases, to be near the Court; besides, he feared the Plague would come too near *whitehall*, if that Distemper increased. And therefore he carefully, with mature deliberation of his Council, forbids all New Buildings to be set up for the future, within two miles of the City; and by Proclamation strictly commands if any be, they shall be pulled down, though not taken notice of till seven years after. Whereby many men (that did not so well heed the Proclamation) laid out their whole estates upon little *Hovels*, and building fair houses upon new foundations (though it were but two yards from the old) they became *Trespassers*, and must either purchase their houses again at a dear rate, or pull them down, both ways tending to their ruin; thus falling under the stroke of the times rough hand, without a providential care of the danger that would follow: For what was so strictly forbidden then, was permitted after; and those reasons that caused the restraint then (the increase of the Plague) were found upon better experience to be a remedy; for there was more room, and better air to prevent it, among thin and single families, than full-crouded houses. And this severity had a second consideration, which was, to prevent the greatness of the Body of the Kingdom from swelling to be all Head, when the Head it self wanted so much increase of Building, as to plump, and make those thin parts appear more round and beautiful, which was then a disgrace; but is now an Ornament to both Cities. So that what the wisdom of one time doth decry, the experience of another may advance: Such is the worlds career! And they are only miserable, whose imprudence, or ill luck, puts them in the way to be over-run by it.

This year 1609. begot a Truce betwixt the King of Spain, and the Low Countries; yet by the death of the Duke of Cleve, the War was like to revive again: For while two petty *Prinees*, *Brandenburgh* and *Newburgh*, strove for the inheritance, Spain, like the *Vulture* in the Fable, attempted to catch it from both, seizing upon *Juliers*, one of the chief Strengths of the Country; which the States of the *Netherlands*, by the help of our King, and *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, besieged, and recovered again. Sir *Edward Cecil*, Brother to the Earl of *Salisbury*, commanded four thousand *English* at that Siege, whose Conduct gave Life to his Soldiers Valour, and that advanced the Glory of his Conduct. But where such fiery Spirits are congregated into a Body, there will be often violent and thundring eruptions. Sir *Hatton Cheek* was next Commander to Sir *Edward Cecil*, a Man of a gallant and daring courage in the difficultest enterprises; who speaking to Sir *Thomas Dutton* (one of the Cap-

The Siege of  
*Juliers*.



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1610.A Duel be-  
twixt Sir Hat-  
ton Cheek, and  
Sir Thomas  
Dutton.

tains under his Command ) somewhat hastily, *Dutton* disdain-  
ing to be snapt up (being a man of a crabbed temper) returned  
as hot an answer, which broke into a flame: But *Dutton* quen-  
ched it, by telling Sir *Hatton Cheek*, *He knew he was his Officer,*  
*which tied him in the Army to a strict Obedience, but he would break that*  
*Bond, and vindicate himself in another place:* And instantly quit-  
ting his Command, he went for *England*.

Some small time after the taking of *Juliers*, *Cheek* fell sick;  
and his distemper was the greater, because he had heard *Dutton*  
strove to defame him, both in Court and City: for being full  
with passion, he vented it with freedom enough in every place.  
*Cheek* being recovered, and heart-whole, would not give time  
to his decayed limbs to suck in their old vigor, but sends to  
*Dutton* that threatned him, to give an account of the large ex-  
pence of his tongue against him; *Dutton*, that waited for such  
a reckoning, willingly accepted the Summons: *Cheek* took  
*Pigot*, one of his Captains, to be his Second; *Dutton* took  
Captain *Gosnald*, both Men of well-spread fame; and they four  
met on *Calais* Sands: On which dreadful Stage, at first meet-  
ing, *Dutton* began to expostulate his injuries, as if a Tongue-  
Combat might decide the Controversie; but *Cheek* would dis-  
pute it otherwise. Then their Seconds searching, and stripping  
them to their Shirts in a cold morning, they ran with that fu-  
ry on each others Sword, as if they did not mean to kill each  
other, but strive who should first die. Their Weapons were Ra-  
pier and Dagger, a fit Banquet for Death. At the first course, *Cheek*  
ran *Dutton* into the neck with his Rapier, and stab'd him in the  
neck backward with his Dagger, miraculously missing his wind-  
pipe; And at the same instant, like one motion, *Dutton* ran  
*Cheek* through the Body, and stab'd him into the back with his  
left hand, locking themselves together thus with four bloody  
keys, which the Seconds fairly opened, and would fain have  
closed up the bleeding difference: but *Cheeks* wounds were  
deadly, which he finding, grew the violenter against his Enemy;  
and *Dutton* seeing him begin to stagger, went back from his  
fury, only defending himself, till the others rage weakned with  
loss of blood, without any more hurt, fell at his feet: *Dutton*,  
with much difficulty recovered his dangerous wounds, but *Cheek*  
by his servants had a sad Funeral, which is the bitter fruit of fiery  
passions.

Henry the 4. of  
France stab'd  
by Raviliac.

The next year was fatal to *Henry* the Great of *France*, who  
(in the height of his Glory, when he had impt his Wings with a  
Mighty Army, and a Mass of Treasure, and none knew which  
way his towering spirit would fly) was stopt by a horrid hand, that  
with a poysoned knife cut out his passage to another World:  
Such poor and penetrable things are Kings, as well as other Men!  
And when in this worlds Sea they have toyled their spirits, in a  
continued



continued *Tempest* of *fond Hopes*, and built upon the Sand their vast fires; either old Age doth wash them quite away, or else some sudden *storm* makes them cast Anchor upon the shores of death, and there's an end. But one *Act* of *Providence* is very remarkable towards him, as a Fore-runner of this ensuing mischief. When he came first to the Crown (which he (as it were) snatched out of the fire, the whole Kingdom being in a flame) he was a professed *Protestant*, so born, and so bred up: but finding himself in a tottering condition among his *Popish* Subjects, for his better security, he did something comply with them in *Ecclesiastical* affairs, which gave great scandal to the *Reformed*, yet did not much advance him in the good opinion of their *Opposites*. For the *Jesuits* unconfident of him (inclining more to the hot zeal of *Spain*) one of their Instruments stab'd him into the mouth with a knife, without much hurt. Which done, an intimate of his, that came to visit him, told him plainly, that the Hand of God was much seen in this *Action*; for he had now denied the *Truths* of God, and the *Religion* he suckt in with his milk, but from the teeth outward, and therefore this punishment came to him as a warning: But let him take heed of denying it with his heart, for if he did, (it is to be feared) God would strike him there also: Both which were too much manifested. So suitable often are Gods Judgments to our Sins!

The venom of this blow reached presently into England: and came somewhat near our Kings Heart; therefore he took the best way to prevent his Fears, by striving to prevent his Dangers, having no other end but his own. For when he considered the horridness of the *Powder Plot*, and by it the irreconcilable malice of that Party, he thought it the safest policy, not to stir those Ashes, where so much Fire was covered; which gave way to a flux of that *Jesuitical humour* to infest the Body of the Kingdom.

But now being startled with this poisoned knife, he ventures upon a *Proclamation*, strictly commanding all *Jesuits* and *Priests* out of the Kingdom, and all *Recusants* to their own Houses, not to come within ten miles of the Court; and secures all the rest of his Subjects to him, by an universal taking of the Oath of *Allegiance*; which the *Parliament*, both *Lords* and *Commons*, (then sitting) began, and the rest of the People followed, to the Kings great contentment.

For the last Session the *Parliament* was prorogued till the fixteenth of *October* this year; and meeting now, they were willing to secure their *Allegiance* to the King out of *Piety*; yet they were so stout (even in those youthful days, which he term'd *Obstinacy*) that they would not obey him in his incroachments upon the *Publick Liberty*, which he began then to practise. For

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1610.

A Proclamation against Jesuits.



An. Reg. 8.

An. Christi  
1610.Prince Henry  
created Prince  
of Wales.

being now season'd with seven years knowledg in his professi-  
on here, he thought he might set up for himself, and not be  
still *journey-man* to the *lavish* tongue of men, that pryed too  
narrowly into the *secrets* of his *Prerogative*, which are *mysteries*  
too high for them, being *Arcana imperii*, fitter to be admired  
than questioned: But the *Parliament* were apprehensive e-  
nough, that those hidden *mysteries* made many dark steps into  
the *Peoples Liberties*, and they were willing by the light of  
*Law* and *Reason*, to discover what was the Kings, what theirs;  
Which the King unwilling to have searched into (after five  
*Sessions* in six years time) dissolved the *Parliament* by *Procla-*  
*mation*.

Prince Henry, the prime branch of this *Royal Cedar*, now growing  
Manly (being the sixteenth year of his *Age*) put forth himself  
in a more *Heroick* manner than was usual with *Princes* of his  
Time, by *Tiltings*, *Barriers*, and other exercises on horseback,  
the *Martial Discipline* of gentle *Peace*, which caught the peo-  
ples eyes, and made their *tongues* the *Messengers* of their *hearts*,  
in daily extolling his hopeful and gallant towardliness to ad-  
miration. And now the King thought him full of ripeness for  
the *Honour* of *Knighthood* (which admitted of a willing con-  
tribution from the people, and such old Customs as bring in mo-  
ney are never out of date) and (to add the more *splendor* to  
his sparkling youth) created him Prince of *Wales*, (as he for-  
merly intimated to the *Parliament*) with all the *pomp* and *solemn-*  
*ity* that a great King could express to a hopeful Son, his first  
born; or the *merit* of a Prince (that floated in the peoples af-  
fections) could possibly attain to. For as yet the King could  
discover nothing in him but that harmless and wanton inno-  
cency that commonly accompanies youth, being of a light  
*nature*, and soon blown away. But how far the Kings *fears*  
(like thick clouds) might afterwards blind the eye of his *Rea-*  
*son*, when he saw him (as he thought) too high mounted in  
the peoples *love*, and of an alluring *spirit*, to decline his pater-  
nal affection to him, and bring him to the *low condition* he fell  
in, may be the *subject* of my *fears*, not of my *pen*. With this  
Ingrandizing Title the King added a great Revenue, establish-  
ing also a full and splendent Retinue and Family to attend his  
person at *St. James*, now appointed to be the Princes Court,  
where this *new Star* placed in the *third House*, might be feared to  
*culminate*, and become *Lord* of the *Ascendant*: His *Palace* being as  
gloriously attended with young and sprightly Blossoms, as the  
Kings was with older, and more sage Plants. And now the  
King deliberates for a Wife for him, and sends to Sir *Charles*  
*Cornwallis*, his *Lieger Ambassador* in *Spain*, to treat with that  
King for his eldest Daughter. But after some traverses, it was  
found there was more time lost than ground gotten: For Prin-  
ces



ces in Treaties lie at the *snare*, and the most backward often gets the better of it. But the King being not so hot then for this, as he was after for the other Son, with another Sister (the eldest being matched into *France*) made a quicker, and a more honourable Retreat.

About this time *Richard Bancroft*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, died; a person severe enough, whose roughness gained little upon those that deserted the *Ceremonies*. One work of his shewed his spirit better than the ruggedest Pen can depaint it: For it was he that first brought the King to begin a new Colledge by *Chelsey*, wherein the choice and ablest *Scholars* of the Kingdom, and the most pregnant *Wits* in matters of *Controversies*, were to be associated under a *Provost*, with a fair and ample allowance, not exceeding three thousand pounds a year, whose design was to answer all *Popish Books*, or others, that vented their malignant spirits against the *Protestant Religion*, either the *Heresies* of the *Papists*, or the *Errors* of those that strook at *Hierarchy*, so that they should be two-edged *Fellows*, that would make old cutting and flashing; and this he forwarded with all industry during his time; and there is yet a formal Act of Parliament in being for the establishment of it. But after his death the King wisely considered, that nothing begets more contention than opposition, and such *Fuellers* would be apt to inflame, rather than quench the heat that would arise from those embers: For *Controversies* are often (or for the most part) the exuberancies of *Passion*; and the *Philosopher* saith, men are drunk with *disputes*, and in that inordinateness take the next thing that comes to hand to throw at one anothers faces; so that the design fell to the ground with him; and there is only so much Building standing by the *Thames-side*, as to shew, that what he intended to Plant, he meant should be well Watered, and yet it withered in the bud. I can lay nothing to the charge of this great man, but from common fame; yet this I may truly say, That for his Predecessor *Whitgift*, and his Successor *Abbot*, I never heard nor read any thing tending to their disparagement: But on him, some unhappy wit vented this *Pasquin*,

Here lies his Grace in cold Earth clad,  
who died with want of what he had.

The Queen was Mistress of *Somerset-house* (as well as the Prince was Master of *St. James*) and she would fain have given it the name of *Denmark-house*, which name continued her time, among her people, but it was afterwards left out of the common *Calender*, like the dead Emperors new named *Month*. She was not without some *Grandees* to attend her for outward glory: The Court being a continued *Maskarado*, where she and her

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An. Christi

1610.

Bancroft Arch-Bishop of Canterbury dies.

7 Regis.

Masks in great esteem.



An. Reg. 9.

An. Christi

1611.

Pembroke a favourite.  
 Mountgomery a favourite.

Car a favourite.

her Ladies, like so many *Sea Nymphs*, or *Nereides*, appeared often in various *dresses* to the *ravishment* of the *beholders*. The King himself being not a little delighted with such fluent *Elegancies*, as made the *nights* more glorious than the *days*. But the *latitude* that these high-flying *fancies*, and more speaking *Actions*, gave to the lower World to judge and censure, even the greatest with *reproaches*, shall not provoke me so much as to stain the innocent Paper. I shall only say in general, That Princes, by how much they are greater than others, are looked upon with a more *severe eye*; if their *Vertues* be not suitable to their *Greatness*, they lose much of their *value*: For it is too great an allay to such *refinedness* to fall under the common *cognizance*.

As she had her *Favourites* in one place, the King had his in another. She loved the elder Brother, the Earl of *Pembroke*; he the younger, whom he made Earl of *Mountgomery*, and Knight of the *Garter*: But either not finding him suitable to his *humour*, or *affections*, or seeing another *object* more delightful, his *fancy* ran with a violent *stream* upon a young Gentleman, who had neither *Parts* nor *Birth* to entertain such a current. His name was *Robert Car*, born about *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*, descended from Gentry of that name, a young man about twenty years of Age, a comely personage, mixt with a handsom and Courteously *garb*, which he had been practising in *France*, and lately came over; *Sir James Hayes*, some say the Lord *Dingwell*, at a *Tilting* (among the rest of the Pages and Gentlemen that in their richest ornaments attended him for that days *Triumph*) made choice of Mr. *Car* (according to the custom) to present his *Shield*, and *Device* to the King; and as he was descending, the Horse full of *fire* and *heat*, prevented him, threw him down before the King, and broke his *leg*. This accident gave the King occasion to take notice of him, and hearing that his name was *Car*, remembered he had a Page of that name when he came first into *England*, which this proved to be: For the Pages the King brought first with him, according to the *French* way to wait upon his Coach, were discharged, and Footmen according to the *English* way supplied those places. The King mustering up his thoughts fixt them upon this *object* of *pity*, giving special order to have him lodged in the Court, and to have his own *Physicians* and *Chyrurgions* use their best endeavours for his *recovery*. The King visited him often during his necessitated restraint, sometimes an hour or more discoursing with him, to sound him, and know what he was; and though he found no great depth of *Literature* or *Experience*, yet such a smooth and calm outside, made him think there might be good Anchorage, and a fit Harbor for his most retired thoughts. As soon as he recovered (which the King with some impatience attended)



tended) he made him Knight, and Gentleman of his *Bed-Chamber*, took the pains himself to teach him the Latin Tongue, and laid a Foundation, by his daily discourses with him, to improve him unto a capability of his more endeared affections.

Now all addressees are made to Sir *Robert Carr*, he is the *Favourite in Ordinary*; no sute, nor ~~no~~ reward, but comes by him; his hand distributes, and his hand restrains; our *Supreme Power* works by *second Causes*; the Lords themselves can scarce have a smile without him. And to give the greater lustre to his power, about this time the Earl of *Dunbar*, the Kings old trusty Servant (the *Cabines* of his secret Counsels) died; so that he solely now took the most intimate of them into his charge, and the Officer of Lord high Treasurer of *Scotland*, which staff the other left behind him; and though it could be no great Supporter, yet the credit of it carried some reputation in his own Country, where it was his happiness to be magnified, as well as in *England*; for he had *Treasure* enough here, where the *Fountain* was. And to ingrandize all, the King created him Baron of *Brandspetch*, and Viscount *Rocheester*, and soon after Knight of the *Garter*. Thus was he drawn up by the Beams of Majesty, to shine in the highest Glory, grappling often with the Prince himself in his own *Sphear*, in divers *Contestations*. For the Prince being a high born Spirit, and meeting a young Competitor in his Fathers Affections, that was a *Mushrom* of yesterday, thought the *venom* would grow too near him, and therefore he gave no countenance, but opposition to it; which was aggravated by some little scintils of Love, as well as Hatred (Rivals in passion) being both *amorous*, and in *youthful blood*, fixing by accident upon one object, who was a third mans; in which the Viscount got the *Mastery*, but to his ruin. The Prince shewing his affection, by his neglecting of her, to be grounded rather upon envy to the Man, than love to the Woman.

But before this time, the Treasurer *Salisbury*, that great Engin of the State, by whom all Wheels moved, held an intimate Correspondence with the House of *Suffolk*, which he had strengthened with an Alliance; marrying his eldest Son, the Lord *Cranborn*, to *Katharine*, the eldest Daughter of that Family. And being mindful of the asperity and sharpness that was betwixt him, and the late Earl of *Essex*, he thought it a good Act of Policy, and Piety, not to suffer *Malice* to become *Hereditary*; and therefore he was a great means in marrying the young Earl of *Essex* to the Lady *Frances Howard*, another of those Sisters, that the Fathers Enmity might be closed up by the Sons Nuptial Fraternity. The Earl of *Essex* was fourteen years of Age, and she thirteen, when they married; too young to consider, but old enough to consent: Yet by the advice of Friends separated after marriage, she under her Mothers wing, and he visiting

France

A. Reg. 10.

An. Christi

1612.

1612.

Made Viscount.

The Earl of Essex marries the Lady Frances Howard.



A. Reg. 10.

An. Christi

1612.



France and Germany, till Time should mature, and ripen a happy Co-union. The Court was her Nest, her Father being Lord Chamberlain; and she was hatched up by her Mother, whom the four breath of that Age (how justly I know not) had already tainted; from whom the young Lady might take such a Tincture, that Ease, Greatness, and Court Glories, would more distain and impress on her, than any way wear out and diminish. And growing to be a Beauty of the greatest Magnitude in that Horizon, was an Object fit for Admirers, and every Tongue grew an Orator at that Shrine.

The Prince of Wales now in his Puberty, sent many loving glances, as Ambassadors of his good respects, and amorous expressions are fit subjects for jealous reproaches to work on. Her Husband having been now three or four years beyond the Seas, (sick with absence from her whom his desires longed after) came over again, and found that Beauty, which he had left innocent, so faded and sophisticated with some Court Drug which had wrought upon her, that he became the greatest Stranger at home. His Patience made way for him a while, and he bore up with a gentle gale against the stream of this Womans affections, which ran altogether (unknown to him) into another chanel. Nor was her reputation yet become so robust (being of a tender growth) to strike his ears with reproaches, and therefore he imputed her sly entertainments to a Maiden bashfulness; till surfered with that dull Potion (upon better advice) he went to the Earl of Suffolk (her Father) and demanded his wife, thinking himself capable to enjoy both her and her love. The Father, that thought there had been an intimacy betwixt them, suitable to their Conjugal Knot, made use of his Paternal power, to reduce his Daughter to the obedience of a Wife. But while these things were struggling for, a most violent Disease of a poysonous Nature, imputed to, but far transcending the small Pox, seized on the Earl of Essex; and had not the strength of Youth, and that Almighty Power that orders all things, wrought out the venom of it, the Earth (as probably wished by her) had been his Marriage Bed.

For this Lady being taken with the growing fortunes of the Viscount Rochester, and grounding more hope upon him, than the uncertain and hopeless love of the Prince, she cast her Anchor there; which the Prince soon discovered, and slighted her accordingly. For dancing one time among the Ladies, and her Glove falling down, it was taken up, and presented to him, by one that thought he did him acceptable service; but the Prince refused to receive it, saying publicly, He would not have it, it is stretcht by another, meaning the Viscount: This was an aggravation of hatred betwixt the Kings Son and the Kings Friend.

The Countess  
of Essex in  
love with Ro-  
chester.

The



The Countess of *Essex* having her heart alienated from her Husband, and set upon the *Viscount*, had a double task to undergo, for accomplishing her ends. One was, to hinder her Husband from enjoying her; the other was, to make the *Viscount* sure unto her: For dishonest *Love* is most full of *jealousie*. Her Husband she looked upon as a private person, and to be carried by him into the *Country* out of her *element* (being ambitious of *glory*, and a Beauty covetous of *applause*) were to close (as she thought) with an insufferable Torment, though he was a man that did not only every way merit her love, but he loved her with an extraordinary affection, having a gentle, mild, and courteous *disposition*, especially to women, such as might win upon the roughest *natures*. But this fiery heat of his Wives mounted upon the wings of *Lust*, or *Love*, (call it what you will) carried her after so much mischief, that those that saw her face, might challenge *Nature* of too much *Hypocrisie*, for harbouring so wicked a heart under so sweet and bewitching a countenance.

To strengthen her designs she finds out one of her own stamp, Mrs. *Turner*, a Doctor of Physicks Widow, a woman, whom Prodigality and Looseness had brought low, yet her Pride would make her fly any pitch, rather than fall into the jaws of *Want*. These two consult together how they might stop the current of the Earls affection towards his Wife, and make a clear passage for the *Viscount* in the place. To effect which, one Doctor *Forman*, a reputed *Conjurer* (living at *Lambeth*) is found out; The women declare to him their *Grievances*, he promises sudden *help*, and to amuse them, frames many little Pictures of Brass, and Wax, some like the *Viscount* and *Countess*, whom he must unite and strengthen; others like the Earl of *Essex*, whom he must debilitate and weaken; and then with *Philtrous* powders, and such *drugs*, he works upon their persons. And to practise what effects his *Art* would produce, Mrs. *Turner*, that loved Sir *Arthur Manwaring*, (a Gentleman then attending the Prince) and willing to keep him to her, gave him some of the *powder*, which wrought so violently with him, that through a storm of Rain and Thunder, he rode fifteen miles one dark night to her House, scarce knowing where he was till he was there. Such is the devilish and mad rage of *Lust*, heightened with *Art* and *Fancy*.

These things matured and ripened by the cunning of this Jugler *Forman*, gave them assurance of happy hopes. Her Courtly invitations, that drew the *Viscount* to observe her, she imputed to the operation of those *drugs* he had tasted; and that harshness, and stubborn comportment, she expressed to her Husband, making him (weary of such entertainments) to absent himself, she thought proceeded from the effects of those un-

I

known

A. Reg. 10.

An. Christi

1612.

She consults with Mistris Turner.

And Forman about it.



A. Reg. 10.

An. Christi

1612.

The Earl of  
Essex gets his  
Wife to Chart-  
ley.

known *potions* and *powders*, that were administred to him: So apt is the Imagination to take impressi<sup>o</sup>n of those things we are willing to believe.

The good Earl finding his Wife noursed in the Court, and seeing no *possibility* to reduce her to *reason*, till she were estrang- ed from the relish, and tast of the *delights* she suckt in there, made his *condition* again known to her Father. The old man being troubled with his Daughters *disobedience*, imbitter'd her being near him, with wearisome and continual *chidings*, to wean her from the *sweets* she doted on, and with much ado forced her into the Country. But how harsh was the *parting*, being rent away from the place where she grew and flourished? Yet she left all her *Engines* and *Imps* behind her; the old Doctor, and his Confederate Mrs. Turner, must be her two *supporters*: She blazons all her miseries to them, at her depart, and moy- stens the way with her tears. Chartley was an hundred miles from her *happinefs* and a little time thus lost is her *eternity*. When she came thither (though in the pleasantest time of Sum- mer) she shut herself up in her Chamber, not suffering a beam of *light* to peep upon her *dark thoughts*: If she stirr'd out of her Chamber, it was in the dead of Night, when sleep had taken possession of all others, but those about her. In this implaca- ble, sad, discontented *humour*, she continued some moneths, al- ways murmuring against, but never giving the least *civil re- spect* to her Husband, which the good man suffered patiently, being loth to be the divulger of his own *misery*: yet having a manly *courage*, he would sometimes break into a little *passion*, to see himself sleighted and neglected by *himself*, but having never found better from her, it was the easier to bear with her.

She writes to  
Forman.

While she was at Chartley she writ to her Confederates, That Her Husband found little operation in their *Drugs*, complaining of his *Lustiness*, and her *Misery*: For (she said) the Viscount would never love her, if her Husband did meddle with her, which with dif- ficulty she yet impeded, but how long she should resist his *Violence* she knew not, therefore she implored their assistance, if they would not see her the most despicable creature in the world: And for sa- tisfaction they should make their own price. With this kind of stuff she filled her Letters, which were after found in Formans Closet. These instigations made him active, and the man be- ing skilful in *natural Magick*, did use all the *Artifice* his *subtlety* could devise, really to imbecillitate the Earl; for no Linnen came near his body, that was not rinsed with their *Camphire Compositions*, and other faint and wasting ingredients; and all Inward applications were foisted on him by corrupted servants, to lessen and debilitate the *seminal operations*. Which *Venefi- cium* is one great part of *Witchcraft*, destructive to nature, and horridly



horridly abominable to be practised. And this in time wrought such effects upon his *person*, that he found himself unable with her, though she permitted him; yet when he had been from her some reasonable *Time*, to renovate his *spirits*, by shaking off those artificial *applications*, then his abilities made her unwilling, and refractory. Though some are of *opinion*, that he was not much *debilitated*, but that she got (by her *virtuous Agents*) an *Artifice* too immodest to be *expressed*, to hinder *Penetration*. And thus she tormented him, till he was contented to let her steer her own *course*, which after run her on *ground*.

For coming to *London* next *winter* with this *full sail*, loaden with *lust*, she found the *Viscount* much prepared for her; who being at first fastned on the *Object*, absence, and all those *little Artifices*, that mischievous *women*, and cunning *Impostures* could devise, had advanced him as much in his *desires*, as they had hindred the other. We could dispute the *Nature* of these *Operations*, how far they are *Contingent*, and how the fancy works with them, though ignorant of them, making their *impulsions* more active, being the *sparks* that kindle this *combustible matter*; for we will never allow there was any other *Diabolical* means used, *Nature* being strong enough for such a *production*; but being not pertinent to the *Story*, will leave it, and follow them that found the *effects* of it, and had *affections* suitable to it, which they made use of with an unbridled *appetite*, yet meeting closely in *corners* (*Sin* being at first *shamefaced*) but afterwards they grew more bold; and every hour that the *Viscount* could steal from his *Royal Master*, he dedicated it to his *Disloyal Mistress*; being caught in this *Net of Adulation*, he becomes a willing *Prisoner*; *Lust* only getting *liberty* to all looseness and licentiousness: *Places* of frequent *Meetings* are daily renewed, *Persons* fitted for such practices are employed; and when *Nature* was exhausted, *Art*, her subtil *Imitator*, brought in her store, to contribute new *spirits*, purchased at any rate. All outward *Adornment* to present *Beauty* in her full *Glory*, were not wanting on both sides, being *Lusts fuel*, which tended to the *Consumption* of all *Reason*. And among the rest, *yellow starch*, the invention and foyl of *Jaundice Complexions*, with great *Cut-work Bands*, and *Piccadillies* (a thing that hath since lost the name) crouded in, and flourished among us, *Mrs. Turner*, being nominoted to be the first *Contriver*, happily in *England*, but the *Original* came out of *France*; which fashion and colour did set off their lean fallow countenances. Thus did the *Viscount* get the *Conquest* of two, the *King*, and this *Lady*, but could not subdue his own *lustful Appetite*.

The *Wheel of Fortune* running towards the *Scots*, turned by the *Viscount Rochester*, was unhappily diverted upon the Lord *Sanguir*, a Baron of that Nation, and married to a good *Family* in

A. Reg. 10.

An. Christi

1612.



She comes again to Court.

The Lord Sanguir murdered a Fencer.



A. Reg. 10.

An. Christi  
1612.

England: who some years before meeting with a sturdy Fencer, one John Turner, who was a Master of the Weapon Trade, in his own School, the young Lord strove to put some affront upon him (making it no little Conquest to disgrace a Master in the Art, as they termed it) and the man apprehensive of the Attempt, with a bold rudeness prest so hard upon him, that he thrust out one of the Barons eyes. This business was much regretted by Turner, and the Baron being conscious to himself that he meant his Adversary some ill, took the Accident with as much patience, as men that lose one eye by their own default, use to do for the preservation of the other. Some time after, being in the Court of the late great Henry of France, and the King (courtous to Strangers) entertaining discourse with him, askt him, how he lost his eye; he (cloathing his answer in a better shroud than a plain Fencers) told him, it was done with a sword: The King replies, Doth the man live? And that question gave an end to the Discourse, but was the beginner of a strange Confusion in his working Fancy, which neither Time nor Distance could compose; carrying it in his breast some years after, till he came into England, where he hired two of his Country-men, Gray and Carlile (men of low and mercenary spirits) to murder him, which they did with a Case of Pistols in his own House in White-Fryars; many years after the loss of his bodily eye, thus the Baron lost the eye of his Reason. This bold nefarious Act was very deeply resented at Court, and the Kings Commands were so active for apprehension of the murderers, that they were all three taken; one upon the Borders of Scotland, so far had his fears carried him; another in a Ship bound for Hamburgh, who escaping in a Storm, the Seas delivered up; and the Lord himself being obscured (in this Tempest of his Soul) hearing a thousand pound was offered to bring his Head (so liberal was the King for Justice) threw himself into the Arms of his Mercy, by the mediation of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, to whom he presented himself an Object of pity: but no intercession could prevail, their lives satisfied the Law, the Baron not having the honour of a Noble death.

Is hanged.

Causes of the  
Kings severity.

The Cause of the Kings severity (if justice may be called severity) was contrary to that of the Barons presumption; for he thought the Scots might do any thing, and he suffered because they had done so much. For Ramsey, one of the Kings Servants, not long before had smit the Earl of Mountgomery, who was the Kings first Favourite, happily because he took it so. Maxwell, another of them, had bitten Hawley, a Gentleman of the Temple, by the Ear; which enraged the Templers (in those times Riotous, and subject to Tumults) and brought it almost to a National Quarrel, till the King stepped in, and took it up himself. The Lord Bruce had summon'd Sir Edward Sackvill, (who was after



after Earl of Dorset ) into France with a fatal complement to take death from his hand, such killing civilities these times produced! And the much lamented Sir James Stuart, one of the Kings blood, and Sir George Wharton, the prime branch of that noble Family, for little worthless punctillios of Honour (being intimate friends) took the Field, and fell together by each others hand. These, and many more private differences (though some of them of an ancient date) were bleeding fresh in memory; so that the King, like a wise Physician, opened this vein of blood, hoping by it to stop all other issues.

The Kings affections were not so monopolized, but that his crafty Servant the Earl of Salisbury, had a good hole as well in his Councils, as Treasure. And being not well pleased to see himself bearded by a Youth new started into the affairs of the World, and mounted by the wing of love, not of merit; he cast out many wists before him, to hinder and damp his passage so, that the Viscount could not rise to that pitch (during his life) that he afterwards arrived at. And one thing among the rest he obstructed was five thousand pounds the King had given him to maintain his Riot: Which sum the Treasurer thought too great a bulk to be carried lightly away, and therefore he desired the King might see what he did. And having layd the money in Silver upon Tables in his Gallery at Salisbury-house, he invited the King to dinner, making this the passage to his entertainment. The King stricken suddenly with such heaps, asked the Treasurer what this money was for; who told him, he had received his Majesties Commands to give so much to the Viscount Rochester. The King that either carelessly thought five thousand pound to be no more than the noise so much makes in Scotland (which doth not amount to above five hundred pounds) or, cunningly (if he knew the value, knew also the Treasurers meaning) said it was too much for one man, and made him be contented with less than the half.

And now the King casts his thoughts towards Peterborough, where his Mother lay, whom he caused to be translated to a Magnificent Tomb, at Westminster. And (somewhat suitable to her mind when she was living) she had a translucent passage in the night, through the City of London, by multitudes of Torches: The Tapers placed by the Tomb and the Altar, in the Cathedral, smoaking with them like an Offertory, with all the Ceremonies, and Voices, their Quires and Copes could expresse, attended by many Prelates and Nobles, who payd this last Tribute to her memory. This was accounted a Piaculous action of the Kings by many, though some have not stuck to say, That as Queen Elizabeth was willing to be rid of the Queen of Scots; yet would not have it her action; and being it could not be done without

A. Reg. 10.

An. Christi

1612.

Salisbury not pleased with the Viscounts greatness.

The Queen of Scots translated to Westminster.



A. Reg. 10.

An. Christi

1612.

The Palatines  
arrival 16.  
Octob.Prince Henry's  
death 6. Nov.His gallant  
spirit.

without her command, when it was done she renounced her own *act*. So though the King was angry when he heard his Mother was taken away by a violent death, recalling his Ambassador, threatening War, and making a great noise (which was after calmed and closed up with a large *Pension* from the Queen) yet he might well enough be pleased that such a *spirit* was layd, as might have conjured up three Kingdoms against him: For *Patrick Grey* that the King sent to dissuade Queen *Elizabeth* from taking away his *Mother's life*, was the greatest *Instrument* to perswade her to it; Distilling always into her this Sentence, *Mortua non mordet*; When she is dead she cannot bite; But the Love that tends to *self-preservation*, is an adjunct of Nature, more powerful than *Filial duty*, and therefore there will be no great strife where there are not adequate operations,

This time was also presented unto us in a various dress, and the event shewed (though some years after) there was more cause of Mourning than Rejoycing, though the latter got the predominance: For the *Prince Elector Palatine* came over into England to Marry the Kings only Daughter, and Death deprived us of the Kings eldest Son. A Prince as eminent in *Nobleness* as in *Blood*, and having a *spirit* too full of *life* and *splendour* to be long shrouded in a *cloud* of *flesh*. If that which gave life to his life had been less, he might happily have lived longer: Not that there was too much Oyl, or that concurrent *Natural Balsamum* in this fair and well-composed *Lamp* to extinguish it self, but the *light* that came from it might cast so radiant a *lustre*, as (by darkning others) it came to lose the benefit of its own *glory*. Jealousie is like fire that burns all before it, and that fire is hot enough to dissolve all Bonds, that tends to the diminution of a Crown. The Prince of *Spain* (his contemporary) Son to *Philip* the second (not long before this) like a young *Phaeton*, wished himself but one day in his Fathers Throne, and he fell (not long after) into the hard hand of an immature *fate*, before he could step into the *Chariot*. So dangerous are the paths of Greatness, that the tongue (many times) rousing aside, makes men tread awry. Strange Rumors are raised upon this sudden expiration of our Prince, the disease being so violent, that the *combate* with *Nature* in the strength of *youth* (being almost nineteen years of age) lasted not above five days. Some say he was poysoned with a bunch of Grapes, others attribute it to the venomous scent of a pair of Gloves, presented to him (the distemper lying for the most part in the head.) They that knew neither of these, are stricken with *fear* and *amazement*, as if they had tasted, or felt, the effects of those *violences*: Private *whisperings*, and *suspensions*, of some new designs a foot, broaching *Prophetical terrors*, That a black  
Christmas



*Christmas* would produce a bloody *Lent*. For the *Spaniard*, who opposed the marriage of the *Prince Palatine*, and saw their ruin growing up in *Prince Henries* towardly *Spirit*, were reputed (vulgarly) the *Mint-masters* of some horrid practices; and that a Ship of *Pocket Pistols* was come out of *Spain*, fit Instruments for a *Massacre*. And these *Trepidations* were not only in the lower *Region*, but wrought upwards, so high, that *Proclamations* were sent abroad, to forbid the making or carrying of *Pistols*, under a foot long in the *Barrel*. And all *Papists* are not only dis-armed (being ever esteemed *Vassals* to the *Catholick King*) but their *Actions* with caution pried into. In such dark clouds as these, the whole Kingdom was at a loss; all ordinary *Transitions* of *Nature*, are imputed to prodigious *Omens*; the greater the fears are, the more blazing is the *Meteor* that arises from them.

Some that knew the bickerings betwixt the *Prince* and the *Viscount*, muttered out dark *Sentences*, that durst not look into the light; especially *Sir James Elphington*, who (observing the *Prince* one day to be discontented with the *Viscount*) offered to kill him: but the *Prince* reprov'd him with a gallant *Spirit*, saying, If there were Cause he would do it himself. Now whether these rumors begot a further scrutiny, or whether it be the *Court-trick* to daub and slubber over things that may be perspicuous, I know not: But the *Physicians* about the *Prince* gave it under their hands (which was spread abroad in several copies) that he died of a strong malignant *Feaver* (so are all violent dissolutions, where *Nature* hath power of resistance) that his *Liver* was pale, and livid, lead-like; the *Gall* had no *Gall*, but was full of wind; the *Spleen* was unnaturally black, and the *Lungs* in many places spotted with much corruption; the *Midriff*, or *Diaphragma*, blackish; and the *Head* in some places full of blood, and in some places full of clear water. Thus was he Anatomized to amuze the *World*, and clear the suspicion of *poysen*, as if no *venoms* could produce these effects. He died the sixth of *November*, and was carried on a *Hearse* (*Triumphing even in Death*) to *Westminster*, the seventh of *December* following; the pomp of the *Funeral* being fully compleated, with the *People* tears and *Lamentations*.

But the *King* (though he could not but be troubled to lose so near a part of himself) looked over all these *Mists* and (like the *Sun*) dispelled all these *Clouds* and *Vapours*; commanding, no man should appear in the *Court* in mourning; he would have nothing in his *Eye*, to bring so sad a Message to his *Heart*. The jollity, feasting, and magnificence of *Christmas*, must not be laid down. There were *Princes*, and *Nobles*, that came out of *Germany* with the *prince Elector*, that must see the *Glory* of the *English Court*; which was presented with so much eminency in gorgeous

A. Reg. 10.

An. Christi

1612.

His Funeral.

Mourning laid aside.



A. Reg. 10.

An. Christi

1612.

Knights of the  
Garter made.The Prince  
Palatine mar-  
ried to the La-  
dy Elizabeth.

gorgeous *Apparel*, that the precedent *mourning* was but as a *sa-  
ble foyl*, the better to illustrate it.

The Prince Elector *Palatine*, and *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, were made Knights of the *Garter*, *Lodowick* Count of *Orange* being *Maurice's* Deputy; and Prince *Maurice* took it as a great honour to be admitted into the *fraternity* of that *Order*, and wore it constantly: Till afterwards, some *Villains* at the *Hague*, that met the Reward of their Demerit (one of them a *Frenchman*, being Groom of the *Princes Chamber*) robbed a *Jeweller* of *Amsterdam*, that brought *Jewels* to the Prince, this Groom tempting him into his Chamber to see some *Jewelr*, and there with his Confederates they strangled the man with one of the *Princes* blew *Ribonds*; which being after discovered, the Prince would never suffer so fatal an Instrument to come about his Neck.

In *February* following, the Prince *Palatine*, and that lovely *Princess*, the Lady *Elizabeth*, were married, on Bishop *Valentines* Day, in all the *Pomp* and *Glory* that so much *Grandure* could express. Her *Vestments* were white, the *Emblem* of *Innocency*; her hair dishevel'd, hanging down her back at length, an *Orna-  
ment* of *Virginity*; a Crown of pure Gold upon her head, the *Cognizance* of *Majesty*, being all over beset with pretious gems, shining like a *Constellation*; her *Train* supported by twelve young *Ladies* in white *Garments*, so adorned with *Jewels*, that her Passage looked like a milky way. She was led to Church by her Brother Prince *Charles*, and the Earl of *Northampton*; the Young *Batchelor* on the right hand, and the Old on the left. And while the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was solemnizing the Marriage, some eruptions and lightnings of joy appeared in her Countenance, that expressed more than an ordinary smile, being almost elated to a laughter; which could not clear the Air of her Fate, but was rather a fore-runner of more sad and dire Events: Which shews how slippery *Nature* is, to tole us along to those things that bring danger, yea sometimes destruc-  
tion with them.

She returned from the Chappel between the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Earl of *Notingham* Lord High Admiral, two married Men. The *Feastings*, *Maskings*, and other *Royal Formalities*, were as troublesome ('tis presum'd) to the *Lovers*; as the *Re-  
lation* of them here may be to the *Readers*: For such *splen-  
dor* and *gayety* are fitter to appear in *Princes Courts*, than in *Hi-  
stories*.

The City of *London* (that with high magnificence had feasted the Prince *Palatine*, and his *Noble Retinue*) presented to the fair *Bride* a Chain of *Oriental Pearl*, by the hand of the Lord *Mayor*, and *Aldermen* (in their *Scarlet* and *Gold Chain* *Ac-  
coutrements*) of such a value, as was fit for them to give, and  
her



her to receive. And the people of the Kingdom in general, being summoned to a *contribution* for the *Marriage* of the Kings Daughter, did shew their affections by their *Bounty*. And though it be the *custom* of our Kings to pay their Daughters *Portions* with their *subjects purses*, yet a hundred years being almost past since such a *precedent*, it might have made them unwilling (if their *obedience* had not been full *ripe*) to recall such *obsolete* things, as are only in practice now by the meanest of the people.

But, tired with Feasting and Jollity, about the middle of *April*, when the *beauties* of the *Spring* were enticing enough to beguile the tediousness of the way, the *Prince Elector* willing to review, and the *Princess* to see what she was to enjoy; After all the *caresses*, and sweet *embraces*, that could be between the King, Queen, and Princes, that were to be separated so long, and at such a distance; And after all the Shews, Pastimes, Fire-works, and other *Artifices* that could be devised, and manifested, they parted at *Rochester*; The Lord Admiral being ready with a Royal Navy in the *Downs* for their passage and conduct. The *season* smiled on them, and they arrived the nine and twentieth of the Moneth in *Flushing*. The Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Viscount *Lisle*, and the Lord *Harington*, with divers Ladies and persons of Quality, attended them to *Heydelburgh*. Their entertainment was great and magnificent in the *Low-Countries*, not only suitable to the Persons, but the place from whence they came, (The *English* having been ever a *Bulwark* to the *Netherlands*) and now they were in full *peace* with *Spain*, which gave the better *relish* to their *Banquetings*. And in every eminent *Town* in *Germany* as they passed, they found that *welcom* which prolonged their time, but made their travel the less, so that with much ado they reached *Heydelburgh*. And after some time spent there, to see the *beauties* and *delights* of that Court, and Country (which were extended and put forth to the uttermost) the Nobility and Ladies of *England* returned home, only they left the Lord *Harington* behind them, who dyed by the way: A Gentleman much lamented in his own person, but much more in his Sons (who not long after survived him) with whom were buried, not only those excellent indowments that make Noble-men *great* indeed, but the *memory* of a noble *Posterity*, which makes them little, or indeed nothing at all.

The Viscount *Rochester* all this while (though plunged in *Lust*) was held up by the *chin* in the *glories* of the *Court*; and the Prince (that interposed betwixt him and the *beams* of *Majesty*) being removed, the Earl of *Salisbury* (another *obstacle*) dying six months after the Prince, in the way from the *Bath*: he now took full possession of the Kings favours alone. He exet

K

cutes

A. Reg. II.

An. Christi

1613.

The Prince  
Palatine re-  
turns home  
with the Prin-  
cess.

Rochester rules  
all.



A. Reg. 11.

An. Christi  
1613.Assisted by  
Overbury.

cutes the place of *Principal Secretary*, receiving all *Pacquets*, and dispatching Answers without the knowledge of the King or Council, or if the King did know, his *love* had hoarded up such a confidence in him, as he laid all out upon that stock. *Rochester's* greatest assistant was a private Gentleman, one Sir *Thomas Overbury*, by whose *Compass* he steered his course, who (being a man of parts and abilities) had wrought upon the Viscount so, as not only to keep him in, and close with the King, but to make him capable of managing the highest affairs, if he had kept himself within the Circle drawn to his head. This intimacy betwixt them, spake *Overbury* an actor in all his privacies. And when he understood by the Viscount his intention of Marriage with the Countess of *Essex*, he opposed it with all the powerful Arguments he could use: For though he might be so active, in his initiation of favour with the Viscount, to be assistant to his pleasures, and for carrying forward some of his dark contrivances (those Secretaries being always the greatest favourites) yet having now gotten good footing in his affection, and building his fortune thereon, his reason might tell him, there could be nothing more destructive to both their growing hopes, than to lay a foundation upon so much publick Injustice, as to marry another Mans Wife, her Husband living; therefore he passionately persuaded him to cast his thoughts upon a more honorable object, and not on one, whose disloyalty (in her present condition) was so much branded with infamy, that the marks of it would be visible on his face. But the Viscount bewitched with the inticements of his soul-ravishing Mistress, (uncapable of good counsel) doth not only call home his affections from *Overbury*, that had been long lieger with him (denouncing enmity) But incites his Beloved against him also; who mustering up all her passions, with the greatest acrimony that a feminine malice could devise, she never left, till she had discharged all the volleys of her rage upon him. And the better to do it, she consults with her Uncle the Earl of *Northampton*, aggravating *Overburies* offence, as tending to the dishonour of their whole Family. That he (a petty fellow) should dare to raise such scandals against her innocence. The Earl of *Northampton*, that knew of the indearments betwixt the Viscount and his Niece (so base and mercenary was his spirit) thought it good policy to stop all passages, that it might not come into the publick mouth: For being in a sphere elated above others, it was a sin of a high presumption for any of a inferior orb to move but in its own place, or meddle with what is above them. He therefore closes with the Viscount (whom in his flattering acclamations by Letters he makes a little Deity) and after some dispute of the manner how to be revenged of *Overbury*, they conclude to dispatch him by poyson, which could not be done so well in a publick way,

*Rochester* and  
*Northampton*  
plot *Overburies*  
death.



way ; and therefore they subtilly contrive to exasperate the King against him, that being a Prisoner, and shack'led by them to a place, he might be a more settled mark for their envenomed Arrows.

About the same time, the King thinking fit to send an Ambassador into Flanders, to the Arch-Duke ( some say, into France ) the Viscount recommended Sir Thomas Overbury to the King for that Service ( extolling his abilities, and fitness for the same, publicly, that more notice might be taken of the affront ) and the King made choice of him for that Imployment. Which done, the Viscount ( under the shadow of friendship ) imparts to Overbury what intentions the King had towards him ; but he thought it would not be so convenient for him to accept of it, because he should not only lose his converse, and company, by such an alienation ( which he highly valued ) but many a fair opportunity of improving his respects to him, in some better way of advancement. Overbury had not been so little a Courtier, or a man of so mean Reason, but that he was sensible what displeasure he should pull upon himself, by refusing the Kings Commands ; And therefore he told the Viscount, that betwixt the Kings favours, and his friendship, he had a great conflict in his spirit, being willing to retain both ; but how he should refuse the Kings commands with safety, he knew not. But the Viscount, with fair promises, prevailed with him to set up his rest at home, upon higher expectations ( such a sweet bait is Ambition ! ) protesting to take off the asperity of the Kings anger from him, and smooth his way so, as should be for his better advantage. When he had wrought Overbury in this forge, he goes to the King, and blows the fire, incensing him with all the aggravations he could ; so that the poor Gentleman, for his contempt, was forthwith committed to the Tower. And to prepare all things for his reception there, Sir William Wade, the late Lieutenant, was removed ; and Sir Ferris Ellowis, a Person more ambitious, than indigent ( having made his way by money, the common merit ) was admitted to the place.

Now the Countess, like another *Alecto*, drove furiously ; her Chariot having two wheels, which ran over all impediments : One was, to sue a Divorce betwixt her and her Husband, that she might marry the Viscount : The other was, to take away Overbury, the blemish in her Eye, and that laid such a stain upon her, that nothing but his blood could expiate. For these she hath several Engins ; the one must be acted Overtly ; the other Covertly, in dark Corners ; and she and her Agents find fit Ministers for both.

The Earl of Northampton resenting his Nieces grievances, makes the King acquainted with her Maiden bashfulness, how loth she is to divulge her Husbands infirmities, and how long

A. Reg. II.

An. Christi

1613.

Rochester betrays Overbury.

The Countess designs.

Northampton joyns with her.



A. Reg. 11.

An. Christi

1613.



Rob. Johnstons  
Hist. of Scot-  
land.

it is since her Marriage, and yet she hath not enjoyed the happiness of a Wife; that her Husbands inability must needs be an unnatural conjunction, such as neither Law nor Reason can admit of; and that there was a great affection betwixt the Viscount and her, so as there seemed to be a more excellent sympathy, and sweet composition of Soul in them, more suitable Reason and Nature, than in the state she was in. Which was seconded by the Viscounts humble submissions to the Kings great wisdom, who (he acknowledged) had not only raised him to what he is, but may yet make him more happy, by uniting him to a Lady of so much honour and virtue.

The King, that took delight to compleat the happiness of them he loved, commanded the Bishops to sue out a Divorce between the Earl of Essex, and his Lady, that the Viscount might marry her: For he had been practised formerly in Scotland, in his minority, with the like experiment. Elizabeth Daughter to the Earl of Athol, being married to the Earl of March, under pretence of impotency, but meerly for lust (as the Author reports) was Divorced from her Husband, and married to the Earl of Arran (the Kings Favourite) who had been before a Partner in her Adulterous Sheets (so current is the Parallel, and so equally are lust and ambition yoked together, that they both (with full violence) draw one and the same way,)

The Bishops, and others, having a Commission under the great Seal of England to convent the Earl of Essex, and his Countess, before them, sent out their Summons, and they made their appearance accordingly. But before they proceeded, they caused a Jury of twelve discreet Matrons to be impannelled, to search the Countess, whether she were (as she pretended to be, and was reputed) a Maid still; for if she were a Maid, they could fasten upon a Nullity, and so separate them, for the more honour of her Virginity. The Countess being ashamed, and bashful, to come to such a Tryal, would not expose her face to the light; but being to appear before the Matrons under a Veil, another young Gentlewoman, that had less offended, was fobbed into the place; and she passed, in the opinion, both of Jury and Judges, to be a Virgin. Then the Articles were drawn up, where she accused her Husband of impotency (and that he was hindred with a perpetual and incurable impediment, whereby he is unable to have carnal copulation with her, with *frigidity quoad hanc*, often reiterated, &c.) The good Earl, willing to be rid of so horrid a mischief, did acknowledg he had attempted to enjoy her many times, but he never did, nor could carnally know her, and believed he never should. Upon these Grounds the Judges proceed to a Divorce.

‘ Declaring,



‘Declaring, That *Robert Earl of Essex*, and the Lady *Frances Howard*, contracted by shew of Marriage, did cohabit in one House, and lie together in one Bed, *Nudum cum Nuda, & Solus cum Sola*; and that the said Lady *Frances* did shew her self prompt, and ready to be known of him; and that the said Earl neither did, nor could have knowledg of her, although he did think himself able to have knowledg of other Women. And that the said Lady *Frances*, by inspection of her Body by *Midwives*, expert in matter of Marriage, was proved to be apt for carnal copulation with Man, and yet a *Virgin*. Therefore we the said *Judges* deputed in the Cause, first invoking the Name of Christ, and setting God before our eye, do pronounce, decree, and declare, That the Earl of *Essex*, for some secret, incurable, binding impediment, did never carnally know, or was, or is able carnally to know, the Lady *Frances Howard*: And therefore we do pronounce, have decreed, and do declare, the pretended Marriage, so contracted, and solemnized, *de facto*, between them, to have been, and to be utterly void, and to no effect; and that they did want, and ought to want the strength of the Law. And that the Lady *Frances* was, and is, and so ought to be free, and at liberty, from any Bond of such pretended Marriage, *de facto*, contracted and solemnized. And we do pronounce, that she ought to be Divorced, and so we do free, and Divorce her; leaving them, as touching other Marriages, to their Conscience in the Lord. Which our Definitive Sentence, and Decree, we ratifie and publish.

*Thomas, Wint. Lancel. Elie. Rich. Coven. & Lichfield.*

*John Roffe, Bishops.*

*Julius Caesar, Thomas Parry, Daniel Dun, Knights.*

These Bishops, and the rest of the Judges, could not be ignorant what scandalous reports of this Ladies actions flew up and down, from lip to lip; which however sweetned by the Partakers, carried an ill savour with them in every honest understanding, who were not blinded with wilfulness, or deafned with prejudice, which made the Bishops of *Canterbury*, and *London*, decline the business, though nominated in the Patent. But Kings will never want fit Ministers in corrupted Times, both in Church and Common-wealth, as long as there are Degrees, and Places of Ascent to clime to. And though these things floated awhile upon the Stream of Greatness, yet there is One above that moves the Waters, who did not only see what passed in the Bishops Palace, but in the closest Prison, which he discovered to the shame and ruin of the Actors.

*A. Reg. 11.*

*An. Christi*

1613.

The Countess divorced from her Husband.

For



A. Reg. II.

An. Christi

1613.

Mrs. Turner  
employed to  
poyson Over-  
bury.

The Lieute-  
nant of the  
Tower inga-  
ged in it.

For while this Wheel was turning at *Lambeth*, the other Wheel had its motion in the *Tower*. Mrs. *Turner*, the Mistris of the *work*, had lost both her supporters: *Forman*, her first prop, dropt away suddenly by death; and *Gresham* another rotten *Engin* (that succeeded him) did not hold long: She must now bear up all her self. But she wrought in a *Mine* of inexhaustible *Treasure*, therefore she may buy instruments at any rate. One *Weston* is thought on for this *Under-work*, who was sometime Doctor *Turners* (her Husbands) man, and hath a little experience in the nature of poysonous Drugs. This venomous Plant is sent for out of the Country to be transplanted here, and two hundred pounds promised to disperse his *Venom*, so as it may be killing. Sir *Thomas Monson* is made by the Countess to recommend him to Sir *Fervis Ellowis*, and he to Sir *Thomas Overbury* to wait on him; where he goes under the character of a right honest man, making it good with a sober and fair outside, the true vizard of *Hypocrisie*, a fit Pipe for such corrupted waters to run through; which must be provided by one *Franklin*, a swarthy, fallow, crooked-backt fellow, who was to be the *Fountain* whence these bitter waters came.

But *Overburys* meat must be dressed in the Lieutenants kitchen, and therefore it is necessary to make him acquainted with it; which the Earl of *Northampton* undertook, smoothing him with such language, and promising him such rewards, as he thought fittest to gain upon him; Assuring him that it would be an acceptable service to the King to have him removed, being an insolent, and pernicious fellow (as he called him) of a factious and dangerous spirit, and therefore advised him to be cautious in admitting any to see him, lest his passions should vent themselves and become publick. The Lieutenant being a man intelligent enough, could not but apprehend the dangerous path he trod in pursuing this business: For if he should make the King acquainted with it, to know more of his mind, before it were done, and he disclaim it, *Northampton* was powerful enough to crush him on the one side; and if it should be discovered after it were done, he might be sure the King would not own it, and it would bring him a certain ruin on the other side: betwixt these two extremes he knew no mean, and therefore he took that which tended (as he thought) to most safety, hoping that the Earl of *Northampton* had some higher Authority for the same. And now they begin to put their design in practice; *Franklin* furnishes *Weston* with materials, compounded to consume Nature insensibly; but this was not quick enough, Malice must be as active, as cunning! stronger Ingredients are infused, which *Weston* having received from the Countess by his Son, he meets the Lieutenant as he carried up *Overburys* meat, saying to him, Sir, shall I give it him now? The Lieutenant askt him, What?

Weston



*Weston* answered, *Sir*, you know what is to be done. The Lieutenant that would not have it known that he knew any thing, gave him a *check*, and would not understand his *meaning*, or at least would have him take notice that he understood it; for he thought that his *connivance* would not bring him within the compass of the *fact* (and for the *guilt* he could dispense with it well enough) and therefore his part of *working* was only not to seem to know what was done. So subtly sometimes men strive to censure themselves.

But these *lingring operations* do not suit with the Countesses implacable *humor*, *Weston* is chid by *Mrs. Turner* for being so slow. But he that knew he might be too active, kept on his old pace, as the only way to have it pass unsuspected, aiming at his own *preservation*, as well as *Overburies destruction*. He gets therefore (by the help of *Franklin*) several sorts of *poysons*, tempering them with his broaths, and every bit of *meat* he eat, that he might diminish by *degrees*; for his very *Salt* was mixt with *white Mercury*: And besides these, *Sir Thomas Monson* sent Tarts and Jellies of the Countesses and *Mrs. Turners* composition (by some of his servants) to *Weston*, for the better expedition. Thus was the poor Gentleman tortured and rackt in a horrid *distemper*, who being young, and of a strong constitution, was able to grapple a long time with these *corroding Tormentors*: But his body being not always able to bear it, at length he fell extreme sick, and having no friend that could, or durst visit him, none to complain to but the causers of his *misery* (such strict guards were kept about him) he languished both in *body* and *mind*. But some friend by accident taking the advantage for a visit, and finding him very sick, procured him a wholsom *Glist*, which *Weston* was willing enough to have administred, because he would not be too quick, and that retarded the work, by carrying away some of the *poysonous matter*. Which *Northampton* hearing, the Lieutenant was checkt for being so careless, and commanded that none should come near him, being fearful lest the *desperateness* of his condition should make him reveal some thing of *high concernment*, that had been *machinated* among them. And *Mrs. Turner* rebuked her Minister *Weston*, for looking no better to his charge, so that they dealt with him now upon a new account.

The Countess got loose from her Husband grows wanton in her *prosperity*. Nature is unbounded where neither Law nor Grace doth limit. The good Earl of *Essex* must repay the *Portion*, to do which he is forced to sell *Benington* in *Hartford-shire*, a very gallant seat, and glad he is rid of a *Torment* at any rate. She now mounted on her *Car* drives over all *oppositions*, her *Beauties* shine in the Court (as she would have it) she is the Kings *Favourite*, as well as her Husband; the *glories* of her Marriage must

A. Reg. 11.

An. Christi

1613.

Their poysons  
set a work.



A. Reg. II.

An. Christi  
1613.Rochester made  
Earl of Somers-  
et, 4. Nov.  
married 5 Dec.  
following.Feasted in  
London.Overbury hears  
of the Marri-  
age.Writes to  
Somerset.

must appear there, and she is a fit gift for the King to bestow, he that took her away from one Husband, can give her to another, who must be of equal rank to her; that she may not descend, therefore he is Created Earl of *Somerset*; and all the splendid *Equipage*, and magnificent *Preparation*, that can either fill a Court with *delight*, or People with *admiration*, are not wanting for the Marriage. She thinking all the World ignorant of her sly *practices*, hath the impudence to appear in the habit of a *Virgin*, with her hair pendant almost to her feet; which *Ornament* of her Body (though a fair one) could not cover the deformities of her Soul: But these, and her high *Elations*, are Clouds to her Conscience, that (though her *Bauds* might for her) her indeed lovely *Cheeks* did not betray themselves to *blushes*. These glorious *Days* are seconded with as glorious *Nights*, where Masks and Dancings had a continued *motion*; the King naturally affecting such high-flying Pastimes, and banquetings, as might wrap up his *Spirit*, and keep it from descending towards Earthly things.

The City of *London*, and the Court at *white-hall*, like two great Stars in Conjunction, had one and the same influence, and operation; they must do something for the Man whom the King loves. Therefore a great Feast is prepared by them in *Merchant-Taylors Hall* (and all the *Grandees* and *Ladies* are invited) with so much magnificence, as if it had been *Competitor*, and vyed with *Whitehall* for *Glory*. They all rode on horseback into the City in the Evening, following their two Leaders; the Men attending the *Bridegroom*, and the Women the *Bride*; so mounted, furnished, and adorned with *Trappings*, and so bespangled with *Jewels*, that the *Torches*, and *Flambeaux* (which were numerous) were but little light to the Beholders.

The noise of these *Triumphs* resounding in the *closest Corners*, brought the news to Sir *Thomas Overbury*, which was an unfit and comfortless *Companion* to a Man in *miser*, conscious to himself, that all his *sufferings* proceeded from his *opposition* to that which was now in *agitation*; so that in his obscure *Prison*, and darker thoughts, he could not see the least *glimps* of *hope* that looked towards *liberty*, when he considered the implacable *nature* of the *woman*. But yet he was not so guilty to his own *Reason*, and that *friendship* (as he thought) that was betwixt him and the Earl of *Somerset*, as utterly to despair, he having so faithfully promised to procure his *Release*.

Therefore *Overbury* writes to him in the midst of his *glory*, to let him know the sad *condition* wherein he was, and how much his health was impaired, which he imputed to his *reclused-*  
ness,



ness, and want of Air, humbly imploring his assistance, that he might no longer languish under the burthens of his infirmities. Somerset not willing to have him exclaim made answer, That the King was now full of great business, but he would take the first opportunity to move him for his Release (though he was highly incensed against him) and make his indisposition a ground for the Kings mercy to work upon; including in the Letter a white Powder, which he desired him to take, assuring him, that though it made him a little sick at first, it would do him much good in the end. The poor abused Gentleman took his Powder, which having a poysonous Quality, added to his affliction: But there must be something more violent to work the Feat.

The Lieutenant of the Tower (that was his frequent Visitor) opened his Breast to his complaints, and with an outward pity received them, against those that were Authors of his calamities, and discharged them again into their bosoms, against whom they were spoken; so that he could say nothing that came not to their knowledg; his very words being racked, as well as his body tormented. For the Lieutenant confest after, with repenting tears, as one of his great sins, that he was unfaithful and treacherous to him, doing things to his disadvantage that he trusted him to do, promising him secrecy, and betraying him to satisfy greatness. Thus he continued in this dismal Den above four Months, whipt daily (as it were) with scorpions, whose venomous stings entred even into his Soul. So that his Enemies, being more impatient for his enduring so long, than he was to endure so much, forced Nature so, with an impoysoned Glyster, (compounded by Franklin) that within a short time after he died.

And to kill him again after death, they brand him with the scandal of a lascivious life, giving out, that he died of the Rdx. Which Northampton expressed to Somerset in a Letter, telling him of strange Sores, and Ulcers found upon his Body, ugly to behold, stinking intolerably; the People forced to throw him in a loose Sheet into a Coffin, and bury him privately on Tower Hill: Concluding, That God is gracious in cutting off evil Instruments before their time. Which Sentence (while he was writing it) reflected the judgment on himself; For Northampton having a great influence in the Kingdom, being a prime Counsellor to the King, and intimate with Somerset, they two grasping all Power, and Northampton having the better head to manage it, the miscarriages were, not without cause, imputed to him. For being a Papist, he did not only work upon Somerset to pervert him (by letting him see there was a greater latitude for the Conscience in that Religion) but got him to procure many immunities for the Papists, as the Kings best affected Subjects. And

L

being

A. Reg. 11.

An. Christi

1613.

Somerset sends  
poysons in his  
Answers.

The Lieute-  
nant betrays  
Overbury.

Overbury dies.

Northampton  
reviles him.



A. Reg. 12.

An. Christi

1614.

Northampton  
dies.People go to  
New-England  
1614.

being Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, he gave free access to *Priests* and *Jesuits*, that abundantly flockt again into the Kingdom, the operation of the last *Proclamation* having now lost the *vertue*: And a Letter being discovered which he had written to Cardinal *Bellarmino*, wherein he expresses the *condition* of the Times, and the Kings importunity compelled him to be a *Protestant* in shew, yet nevertheless his heart stood firm with the *Papists*, and if there were cause he would express it; with much more to this purpose. These things first muttered, then urged against him, touched him to the heart, so that he retired, disposed of his Estate, and dyed. He had a great mind tending towards eminent things, which he was the better able to effect, by living a Batchelor to an old Age, being always attended (and he loved it) with Gentlemen of Quality, to whom he was very bountiful. His affections were also much raised to *Charity*, as by the *Alms-house* he erected appears, and his Works shew him to be a great getter. But leaving no Issue to propagate his name, he built a fair House by *Charing-cross* to continue it, which it lost soon after his death, being called *Suffolk-house* for a time, and now is *Northumberland-house*. Such changes there are in the Worlds measures! His Body was carried to be buried at *Dover*, because he was Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, as was reported by some of his Followers, but it was vulgarly rumored to be transported to *Rome*. But these actions of his about *Overbury* lying dormant, made no great noise at this time against him, but when they broke out, they laid upon his name as great a stench as *Infamy* or *Odium* could produce.

The Bishops that were only to move in their own spheres had an influence over more than their own Seas: For some of them that were never unactive for establishing their *Temporal Greatness*, were not contented to suppress many Pious and Religious men, but, I know not for what *Policy*, restrained their going beyond Sea: For there were divers Families about this time shipped for *New-England*, and were not suffered to go, though afterwards they were upon better thoughts permitted. For in Reason (being there was an impossibility to reduce them to their *Wills*) it had been the best course to have set open the door, that the *Enemy* might have had a smooth passage. But this malicious proceeding was no hindrance to the establishment of that Colony, nor is the blame to be laid upon the *Function* (for some of the Bishops in these Times were holy men, and great Lights to the Truths of God) but on such, whose ambition made them endeavour more after *Earthly* things than *Heavenly*, and less to please God than the King (as Cardinal *Woolsey* long since confessed of himself) and the malice of evil men may protract, but it shall never destroy what God intends to build up. A wonderful Light breaking forth in the West-part of the world, this latter

Age,



## The History of Great Britain.

75

Age, discovering the *nakedness* of the Nations both in *body* and *soul*; which carried a *resemblance* of the *Creation* of a new *World*; or at least the *imperfection* of the old. A vast *Territory* and few people.

A. Reg. 12.

An. Christi

1614.

New-England  
described.

The *Spaniards*, the first *discoverers*, being more covetous to grasp, than well able to plant, took possession of the most precious places, so that the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, caught but what they left. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* and others (after Sir *Francis Drake*) found out that Country now called *Virginia*, which was long since planted with a Colony. And in that tract of Land more *Northerly*, within the *degrees* of 40 and 48 of *latitude*, lies *New-England*, a *Climate* temperate and healthful, but not so much as the *Old*. It is rather a low than a high Land, full of *Rocky-Capes* or *Promontories*. The Inmost parts of the Country are *Mountainous*, intermixt with fruitful *Vallies*, and large *Lakes*, which want not store of good *Fish*. The *Hills* are no where *Barren* (though in some places *Stony*) but fruitful in *Trees* and *Grass*. There are many *Rivers*, fresh *Brooks* and *Springs*, that run into the *Sea*. The *Rivers* are good *Harbors*, and abound with plenty of excellent *Fish*, yet are they full of *Falls*, which makes them not *Navigable* far into the Land. The *Seas* bordering the *Shores* are studded with *Islands*, about which great *Shoals* of *Fishes* (*Cod*, *Haddock*, and such like) do wantonly sport themselves. The main Land doth nourish abundance of *Deers*, *Bears*, *Wolves*, and a beast called *Moose*, peculiar to those *Regions*; and the *Rivers* and *Ponds* are stored with some *Beavers*, *Otters*, and *Musquashes*. There are also divers kinds of small *Beasts*, but the most offensive are *Foxes*; *Fowls* there are store in their several seasons, as *Turkies*, *Geese*, and *Ducks*; and the soyl naturally produces wild *Vines* with very large *Bunches* of *Grapes*, but the extremity of *heat* and *cold* hinder their just temper. There are many other *Fruits* which are very good, with *Plants*, whose *Rinds* or *Barks* transcends our *Hemp* or *Flax*; both *Air* and *Earth* concurring to bring forth most things that *Industry* and *Art* can provide for the use of man.

The first that sent a *Colony* into this Country, was the Lord Chief Justice *Popham*, in the year 1606. A man highly renowned in his time, for persecuting such as transgressed the *Laws* among *Christians*, living like *Beasts* of prey to the prejudice of *Travellers*. And in this he had a special aim, and hope also, to establish *Christian Laws* among *Infidels*; and by *domestical*, to chace away those *ferous*, and *indomitable Creatures*, that infested the Land: Brave and gallant *spirits* having ever such *publick ends*. But *Planters* are like *Alchymists*, they have something in *projection*, that many times fails in *production*. It is conceived the *Romans* were not well advised to settle one of their

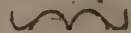
Planted first  
1606.



A. Reg. 12.

An. Christi

1614.



Somersets de-  
vices to get  
Money.

The Kings  
Bounty.

first Colonies at Maldon in Essex, whose soyl about, is neither yet sound; nor Air salubrious. And the first opening of ground in a Climate not *Natural*, hath an extraordinary operation upon the Bodies of Men, whose Senses must comply to give entertainment to a Stranger, that often spoils the place where it finds Hospitality. For the first Planters of New-England having seated themselves low, few of them were left, to direct those that succeeded, in a better way. Yet People, by dear experience, overcame it by degrees, being yearly supplied by men, whose industry and affections taught them, there was more hope to find safety in New-England than in the Old.

Though these found some stop, yet our great Favourite, the Earl of Somerset, and his business, runs smoothly, without rub, since Overburies death. But he must alter his Bias, and go less, or find some new ways to bring in Monies; the Revenues of the Crown are not competent to maintain such vast Expences, accumulated by his Riot, though he had all the Earl of Westmorelands Lands at his Marriage, and Creation, added to his Earldom. There must be therefore a new Order of Baronets made, in number two hundred, that must be next Degree to Barons, and these must pay a thousand pound a piece for their Honour, having it by Patent under the great Seal, and continued to Posterity with the Title of Knights. Some of these new Honourable men (whose Wives pride, and their own Prodigalities had pumpt up to it) were so drained, that they had not moisture to maintain the radical humour, but wither'd no nothing. This money thus raised, is pretended for planting the North of Ireland, but it found many other Channels, before it came to that Sea. And though at our Kings first access to the Crown, there was a glut of Knights made, yet after some time he held his hand, lest the Kingdom should be cloyed with them: And the World thriv'd so well with some, that the price was afterwards brought up to three hundred pounds a piece. But now again, the poor Courtiers were so indigent, that sixty pounds would purchase a Knighthood, the King wanting other means to gratifie his Servants.

Yet he was of so free a Nature, and careless of Money, when he had it (though solicitous to get it) that he battled in his own bounty. For being one day in the Gallery at white-hall, and none with him but Sir Henry Rich (who was second Son to the Earl of Warwick) afterwards Earl of Holland, a Gentleman of excellent Natural Parts, but youthfully expensive; and James Maxwell, one of his Bed Chamber; some Porters past by them, with three thousand pounds, going to the Privy Purse: Sir Henry Rich whispering Maxwell, the King turned upon them, and asked Maxwell, what says he? what says he? Maxwell told him, he wisht he had so much money; Marry shalt thou Harry, (saith



(saith the King) and presently commanded the *Porters* to carry it to his *Lodging*, with this Expression, *You think now you have a great Purchase; but I am more delighted to think how much I have pleased you in giving this money, than you can be in receiving it.* This Story intervenes, to shew the *Temper* of his *Mind*.

About this time also *Gold* was raised to two shillings in the pound, occasioned from the high value set upon it abroad, which made the Merchant transport it. But the first *Inhancers* can make their *Markets*, by ingrossing great *Sums*; especially the Payments of those times, and all this Kings *Reign*, being for the most part in *Gold* so that it might be called the *Golden Age*; that it is a wonder now, what *gulf* hath swallowed those great *sums*, if their *golden wings* be not flown to the *Sun-rising*. But these little *projects* will bring in but small store of money, to maintain the *work*; many such *Materials* must go, to make up a *Royal Building*, and little *Streams* will not easily fill a *Cistern* that hath many *Issues*. A *Parliament* can furnish all: but who dare venture on such *Refractory Spirits*?

Yet there was a generation about the *Court*, that to please and humour Greatness, undertook a *Parliament*; as men presuming to have Friends in every *County*, and *Borough*, who (by their *Power* among the *People*) would make Election of such *Members* for *Knights* and *Burgesses*, as should comply solely to the Kings desires; and *Somerset* is the Head and Chief of these *Undertakers*. But this was but an *Embriou*, and became an *Abortive*. The *English Freedom* cannot be lost by a few base and tame *spirits*, that would unmake themselves, and their *Posterity*, to ingrandize one Man. For the *Parliament* meeting according to their *Summons*, such *Faces* appeared there, as made the *Court* droop; who, instead of Contributing to the Kings wants, lay open his *wasts*, especially upon the *Scots*, with whom they desire *medietatem lingua*, a share of favour: *The Bread* (by our Saviours rule) properly belonging to the *Children of the Kingdom*. And they beseech His Majesty to stop the Current of future access of that *Nation* to make residence here, having enough to eat up their own *Crumbs*. They enquire into the *Causes* of the unexpected increase of *Popish Recusants*, since the *Gun-Powder Plot*, the detestation whereof (they thought) should have utterly extinguished them; and they find it to the Admission of *Popish Nobility* into his *Counsels*; the silencing of many watchful, and diligent *Ministers*; the divers *Treaties* his Majesty hath entertained; not only for the Marriage of the deceased Prince *Henry*, but for Prince *Charles* that now liveth, with the Daughters of *Popish Princes*, which dis-heartneth the *Protestant*, and encourageth the *Recusant*; laying open with these, many other *miscarriages* in *Government*, which the King willing to have concealed, stopt them in their *Course*, dissolving the *Parliament*, and

A. Reg. 12.

An. Christi

1614.

Gold raised.

A Parliament undertaken.



A. Reg. 12.

An. Christi  
1614.A Benevolence  
required.

and committing to the Tower and other Princes (the beginning of incroachment upon the publick liberties) such as were most active for the *Common good*.

These fair *Blossoms* not producing the hoped-for fruit, they find out new *Projects* to *manure* the People; different much in *name* and *nature*; a *Benevolence*, extorted; a *Free-gift* against their *wills* was urged upon them, and they that did not give in their *money*, must give in their *names*, which carried a kind of *fright* with it. But the most knowing men (like so many *Pillars* to the *Kingdoms liberties*) supported their *Neighbours* tottering *Resolutions*, with assuring them, that these kind of *Benevolences* were against *Law*, *Reason* and *Religion*.

First against *Law*, being prohibited by divers Acts of Parliament; and a Curse pronounced against the infringers of them.

Secondly, against *Reason*, that a particular man should oppose his judgment and discretion, to the wisdom and judgment of the King assembled in Parliament, who have there denied any such aid.

Thirdly against *Religion*, That a King violating his Oath (taken at his Coronation for maintaining the *Laws*, *Liberties*, and *Customs* of the *Realm*) should be assisted by the people in an Act of so much *Injustice* and *Impiety*. These, and many other Arguments instilled into the people by some good *Patriots*, were great impediments to the *Benevolence*; So that they got but little *money*, and lost a great deal of *love*: For no *Levies* do so much *decline*, and *abase* the *love* and *spirits* of the people, as unjust *Levies*. Subsidies get more of their *money*, but Exactions enslave the *mind*; for they either raise them above, or depress them beneath their sufferings, which are equally *mischievous*, and to be avoided.

The King of  
Denmark's se-  
cond coming.

This Summer the King of *Denmark* revisited his Sister the Queen of *England*, with some forty Lords, Gentlemen, and others in his Train, landing at *Yarmouth*, and passing directly to *London*, took up his Lodging in our Common Inns, and was not known but for some *Outlandish Nobleman*, till he came to the Queens Palace in the *Strand*, where she was surprized with the unexpected joy of a *Brothers company*, distanced from her by the interest of his people; the great Bar that hinders Princes the common *civilities* and happiness of their Inferiors. But the joy continued not long; for after some fourteen days interview, they parted again. But those days had such a *plenty* of all those *delights* that contend to satisfaction, as if a great deal of more time had been involved and contracted in them.

The Queen  
opposes Somers-  
et.

The Earl of *Somerset* new made Lord Chamberlain, succeeding his Father-in-law the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Lord Treasurer Successor



Successor to *Salisbury*, were not very acceptable to the Queen, having the same spirit and animosity against *Somerset* that her Son had; But whether from an apprehension that the Kings love and company was alienated from her, by this Masculine conversation and intimacy, or whether the mans insolence, (thus high mounted) had carried him too near the Beams of Majesty (his creature *Overbury* being a little before his Commitment condemned for presumptuous walking with his hat on in her Palace Garden, the being in the window) or whether from that natural inclination that makes every one oppose Pride in others, though it be more active in themselves, and see it not; or from that Rumor of Prince *Henries* death, covertly imputed to *Somerset*, I know not. But she became the head of a great Faction against him.

*Sir Ralph winwood*, who had been *Liege-Ambassador* with the States in the *Netherlands*, for his abilities and good service had merited so much from the King, that he made him Secretary of State; The Queen closes with him, the better to discover *Somersets* miscarriages, and he was ready enough to oblige her; for *Somerset* made him but an Underling, grasping all Publick employments into his own hand, not caring whom he disobliged, or what Malice he pulled upon himself; for like a Coloss he stood the brunt of all the Tempests of Envy, making those that carried the greatest sail to strike and come under him. Nor would he suffer any place in Court, or dignity in State, to be bestowed; which was not sweetned with his smile that gave it, or their bounty that enjoyed it; so that (it was thought) he ingrossed a mass of Coin, as if his soul intended to take her ease. This Pride and Covetousness added to his other miscarriages such a number of Underminers, that he stood upon a tottering foundation, having no support but the Kings favour, which, whether by Providence from above, or purposes below (both ever concurring from the Will to the Means) was soon removed.

For about this time the King cast his eye upon a young Gentleman, so rarely moulded, that he meant to make him a Master-piece: His name was *George Villers*, he was second Son to *Sir George Villers*, a Knight of *Leicester-shire*, by a second Venter: For the old man coming to *Colehorton* in that County, to visit his Kinswoman the Lady *Beaumont*, found a young Gentlewoman of that name, allyed, and yet a servant to the Lady, who being of a handsom presence, and countenance, took his affections, and he married her. This was the soil where the glorious Cedar grew: who having only the breeding and portion of a younger Brother, with the Mothers help and travel, got the addition of a French garb, which brought him to the Court in no greater a condition than fifty pounds a year is able to maintain.

The

A. Reg. 12.

An. Christi

1614.

*George Villers*  
a favourite.



A. Reg. 13.

An. Christi

1615.

Somersets decline 1615.

The King deserts him.

The King stricken with this new *object*, would not expose him to so much hazard as the *malice* of a jealous *Competitor*, nor himself to so much *censure*, as to be thought changeable, and taken again with a sudden affection; therefore he instructs some of his *Confidants* to bring him in by *degrees*; who intimated the Kings pleasure to him, that he should wait *Cup-bearer* at large, being so, at too strait a distance of *place*, to have any *mark* of *favour* for *suspicion* to level at. And if the King had not received a new *Impression* thus, the old *Character* of *Somerſet* that was imprinted in his *soul*, could not so soon (as many men thought) have been blotted out. But *Courts* that are the *wisest*, though not the most *vertuous Schools*, do teach their *Scholars* to observe the *Seasons*, and by the *Astronomy* of the *Princes eye*, to calculate what *Fortune* such *Aspects*, and such *Conjunctions* may happily produce: And they found so much as gave them encouragement to hear, and boldness to discover, that which pulled down the *one*, and set up the *other*.

But *Somerſet* that had the *pulse* of his *Conscience* always beating at *Oderburies* door, was as active to preserve himself, as his *Enemies* were to ruin him: and finding himself shaking (though there was nothing yet laid to his *Charge*, but the imbezelling some of the *Crown Jewels*) he throws himself at the Kings feet, acknowledging the great *Trust* his Majesty had reposed in him, and the weight of *business* lying on him, might make him incounter him with some *miscarriages* through youth and ignorance (great *employments* often meeting with *envy*, that jossels them in the way) he therefore humbly besought his Majesty to grant him a general *Pardon* for what was past, that he might not be exposed to the *malice* of those that would wrest all his *Actions* to the worst meaning. The King that raised this fair *Edifice*, being loth to have it quite pulled down again, gave order for the drawing up of a general *Pardon*, in so ample and full a manner, that it might rather exceed, than take rise from any former *precedent*; This the King signed and sent to the *Great Seal*; But the *Queen* having notice of it, and using her *Power* with the *Lord Chancellor*, gave stop to the *Seal* till the Kings coming to *Town* (who was on his *Progress* in the *West*) and then what was mutter'd in corners before, rung openly in the *Streets*: For the *Apothecaries* boy that gave *Sir Thomas Overbury* the *Glisten*, falling sick at *Flushing*, revealed the whole matter, which *Sir Ralph Winwood* by his *Correspondents* had a full *Relation* of, and a small *breach* being made, his *Enemies*, like the noise of many *Waters*, rise up against him, following the *Stream*.

The King hearing of the *business*, and what ill sound it carried with it (as it was set out to him) that in the face of the *Court*, and so near his own bosom, such *poysinous* practices should be perpetrated, and on one that was his *Prisoner*, he seemed



seemed to be much moved with the *Relation*; and sending for the *Judges*, gave them strict Charge to examin the Matter thoroughly, imprecating a *Curse* upon them and their *Posterity*, if they did not endeavour to discover it; and if he did spare any guilty Person, *He wished Gods Curse might light on him, and his Posterity*; So violent the King appeared in prosecution of it! And away to *Royston* he goes, and *Somerset* with him; thither these *rumours* came buzzing about his ears, like a rising storm upon a well-spread Oak; but he thought himself too firmly rooted in the Kings favour to be removed, therefore he went back to *London*, to still the murmurs vented against him. Some say, the Lord Chief Justice *Cook* sent for him, upon which he went to the King with a Complaint, as taking it to be a great *presumption*; but the King made answer, *Thou must go then, for if Cook sends for me I must go too*. Others say, when he came to take his leave of the King, he embraced and kist him often, wisht him to make haste back, shewed an extreme *passion* to be without him; and his back was no sooner turned, but he said with a smile, *I shall never see thy face more*. Whether either, or both of these were so, cannot be asserted, but to *London* he went; his Countess was apprehended (and committed to Custody in *Black-Fryars*) before he came thither; he was no sooner there, but he was seized on, and commended to the Charge of *Doctor Mountain*, Dean of *Westminster*; and then they went on roundly with the Business.

For a little before this, *Weston* was taken, and examined, but like a stubborn piece (unmoulded for impression) nothing could be drawn from him; but God (by the means and persuasion of the Bishop of *London*, *Doctor King*, a man eminent for piety in his time) so wrought upon his heart, that the eye of his soul being opened to the foulness of his sin, he discovered all, so that the whole *Confederacy* were laid hold on; Who falling into the hands of the Lord Chief Justice *Cook* (a Spirit of a fiery exhalation, as subtil as active) he left no stone unturned, till he had ript up the very foundation.

But in the mean time, between *Westons* standing mute, and his Trial, one *Lumsden* a Scotchman, took upon him to make a false and libellous *Relation* of the business, and delivers it to *Henry Gib* of the Bed-Chamber, to be put into the Kings hand; in which Writing he falsifies and perverts all that was done the first day of *Westons* Arraignment, turning the edg of his imputations upon the Lord Chief Justice *Cook*: which Bolt was boldly shot by him, but it was thought not to come out of his own Quiver; and it lighted into an ill hand for him, for the King discovered it, and left him an open Mark to that Justice, he had traduced.

A. Reg. 13.

An. Christi  
1615.

Weston and the  
rest tried.

M

which



A. Reg. 13.

An. Christi

1615.

Weston executed.

Mrs. Turner.

Sir Jervis El-  
lowis.

And Franklin.

*Weston* was the first that suffered by the hand of the Law; which *Sir John Hollis* (after Earl of *Clare*) out of friendship to *Somerset*; and *Sir John Wentworth*, a Person debauched and riotous (hoping from the beams of *Somerset's* favour to increase his wanting fortunes) strove to blast in the *Spring*; for they rode to *Tyburn*, and urged him at his Execution to deny all, hoping that way to prevent the *Autumn* that followed: but *Weston's* Soul being prepared for *Death*, resisted their temptations, sealing penitently the Truth of his *Confession* with his last. And this attempt of *Hollis*, *Wentworth*, and *Lumsden*, to pervert *Justice* being aggravated against them in the *Star-Chamber* by the Kings Attorney, *Sir Francis Bacon*, they were sentenced there, and found the reward of their *Presumption*.

*Mistress Turner* followed next: A Pattern of *Pride* and *Lust*; who having always given a loose Rein to her *life*, she ran this career at last into the jaws of *death*.

*Sir Jervis Ellovis*, Lieutenant of the Tower, was the third, who suffered on *Tower-Hill*; a Man much pitied, being drawn in by the allurements of *Northampton* to be a *Spectator* rather than an *Actor* in this bloody *Tragedy*; but his *Connivence* cost him his life. And being a man full of sorrow for his offence, he left two Pillars behind him at his death, for *Watch-Towers* to all that pass by, in this Bark of frail *Mortality*, to prevent *Shipwreck*. One was, *Not to vow any thing to God, but to perform it*. The other was, *Not to take a pride in any Parts, though never so excellent*. For the first, he said he was a great *Gamester*, and loved it; and having lost one time much money, he seriously and advisedly, between *God* and his own *Soul*, clapping his hand on his breast, spake thus (as it were to *God*) *If ever I play again, then let me be hanged! and breaking my Vow* (said he) *now God hath paid my Imprecation home*. The second was, He took a great delight in his *Pen*, And that *Pen* (to use his own words) *which I was so proud of, hath struck me dead, and, like Absolons hair, hath hanged me*; for there dropt a word or two from my *Pen*, in a *Letter* to the Earl of *Northampton*, *which upon my salvation I am not able to answer*: At my *Arraignment* I pleaded hard for my *life*, and protested mine *innocency*; but when my own *Pen* came against me, I was not able to speak for my self, but stood as one amazed, or that had no tongue. Such damps doth guiltiness cast upon the Spirit!

The fourth that fell by the stroke of *Justice*, was *Franklin*, a Fellow as sordid in his death, as pernicious in his life, whose name deserves not so much as *memory*.

The fifth and sixth were *Somerset* and his *Countess*. At her *Arraignment*, all the Letters that passed betwixt *Ferman* and *she*, were read in *open Court*, and the waxen and brazen Poppets were made visible, dancing up and down from hand to hand, which discovered the folly of her *Actions*: But the Earl and she,



she, being condemned, found the King *mercy*, and were, after some time of imprisonment in the *Tower*, set at liberty, holding their lives by a *Lease* of the Kings *will*, living in a private, and almost obscure *condition*. Shewing in it, That no *content* or *happiness* can be truly established, but on the foundation of *Justice*. For that *Love* that made them break through all *Oppositions* (either by her declining to some new *Object* (as was the common rumour) or his inclining to *reluctancy* for the *Old*) grew so weak, that it pined away, and they lived long after (though in one House) as Strangers one to another.

She died before him. Her death was *infamous*; his without *fame*, the *obscurity* of the rest of his life darkning the *splendor* of it. And though she died (as it were) in a *corner* (in so private a condition) the loathsomeness of her *death* made it as conspicuous as on the *house-top*: For that part of her Body which had been the *receptacle* of most of her *sin*, grown rotten (though she never had but one *Child*) the *ligaments* failing, it fell down, and was cut away in *flakes*, with a most *nauseous* and putrid *savour*; which to augment, she would roul her self in her own *ordure* in her bed, took delight in it. Thus her affections varied; For nothing could be found sweet enough to augment her *Beauties* at first, and nothing stinking enough to decipher her loathsomeness at last: Pardon the sharpness of these expressions, for they are for the *Glory* of God, who often makes his *punishments* (in the *balance* of his *Justice*) of equal weight with our *faults*.

For his *Person*, He was rather well compacted than tall; his features and favour comely, and handsome, rather than *beautiful*; the hair of his head flaxen; that of his face tinged with yellow, of the *Sycambrian* colour: In his own *nature*, of a gentle mind, and affable disposition, having publick *affectuons*, till they were all swallowed up in this *gulf* of *beauty*, which did precipitate him into these dangerous *Contrivances*. For that which made his *friendship* false, diverted his publick affection to his private interest; and when he found himself guilty of what he thought might ruin him, he grew covetous to heap that together, which he thought might preserve him; So that at one breach that our *Corruptions* make, many mischiefs follow in the crowd. And if he had not met with such a *woman*, he might have been a good man: but trials, and strong temptations, enhanceth the *Price* of *Virtue*; the conflict is gallant, but to be overcome debaseth a man the more, by how much his fall is the greater.

I was loth to separate these *Delinquents* in their *Trials* (being close woven) by the length of Sir *Francis Bacon's* Speech in the *Star-Chamber*, against *Hollis*, *Wentworth*, and *Lunsden*. But knowing what an *Ornament* his *Oratory* will give to this Story,

A. Reg. 13.

An. Christi

1615.

The Countesses description in her death.

Somersets in his life.



A. Reg. 14.

An. Christi  
1616.Sir Francis Ba-  
cons Speech in  
Star-chamber.

and how usual it was for ancient *Historians* to insert their *Harangues* of State, as well as *Military Orations*, I could not decline this, though it comes almost in the *Rere*; the rather because it will serve as a Seal and Confirmation of what is formerly written. And thus it was.

**T**HE Offence wherewith I shall charge the three Offenders at the Bar, is a misdemeanour of a high *Nature*, tending to the defacing and scandal of *Justice*, in a great Cause Capital. The particular Charge is this:

the King among many of his *Princely Vertues*, is known to excel in that proper *Vertue* of the Imperial Throne, which is *Justice*; it is a *Master Vertue*, unto which the other three are ministrant, and do service: *wisdom* serveth to discover, and discern of Innocencies, and Guiltiness; *Fortitude* is to persecute, and execute; and *Temperance* so to carry *Justice*, as it be not passionate in the pursuit, nor confused in valuing Persons, nor precipitate in Time.

For this his Majesties *Vertue* of *Justice*, God hath of late raised an Occasion, and erected (as it were) a *Stage*, or *Theatre*, much for his *Honour*, to shew, and act it, in the pursuit of the violent untimely death of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and therein cleansing the Land from blood. For if blood doth cry to Heaven in Gods ears, this is a stench, I may say, in the Nostrils of God and Man.

This work of *Justice*, the greater and more excellent it is, you will soon conclude, the greater is the offence of any that have sought to affront or traduce it. And therefore, before I descend unto the particular Charge of these Offenders, I will say somewhat of the Crime of Impoysonment, somewhat of the particular Circumstances of this Fact upon *Overbury*; and thirdly, of the Kings great and worthy care and carriage in this business.

The offence of Impoysonment is most truly figured in that Device and Description which was made of the nature of *Caius Caligula*, That he was *Lutum sanguine maceratum*, Mire cemented with blood: For as it is one of the highest offences in guiltiness, so it is the basest of all others in the minds of Offenders. *Treason*, *Magnum aliquid spectant*, they aim at great things; but this is vile and base. I have found in the Book of God, examples of all other offences, but not any one of an Impoysonment, or an Impoysoner. I find mention of some fear of casual Impoysonments; when the Waters were corrupted and bitter, they came complaining in a fearful manner, Master, *Mors in olla*: And I find mention of Poysons of Beasts, and Serpents, *The Poysons of Asps is under their lips*, saith the *Psalm*, but I find no mention in a Human Creature, of a

malicious



malicious and murtherous Impoysonment. *Let their table be made a snare*, is certainly most true of Impoysonment, but that I think was meant of the Treachery of Friends, that were participant of the same Table.

This is an offence that hath two spurs of offending, *spes perficiendi*, & *spes celandi*; it is easily committed and easily concealed. It is an offence, that is, *Tanquam sagitta nocte volans*, it is the Arrow that flies by night; it discerns not whom it hits: for many times the poyson is laid for one, and another takes it. As in *Sandens* case, where the poysoned Apple was laid for the Mother, and the Child eat it. And so in that notorious Case, whereupon the Statute of 22 Hen. 8. cap. 9. was made, where the intent being but to poyson one or two, poyson was put in a little Vessel of Barm that stood in the Kitchen at the Bishop of *Rochesters* house, of which Barm, Pottage or Grewel was made, wherewith seventeen of the Bishops Family were poysoned, nay, divers of the poor that came to the Bishops-gate, and had the Pottage in Alms, were likewise poysoned. Here is great talk of Impoysonment, I hope I am safe, I have no enemies, nor any thing men can long for; that is all one; for he may sit at the Table by one, for whom poyson is prepared, and have a drench of his Cup or of his Pottage, and so (as the Poet saith) *Concidit infelix alieno vulnere*, he may die another mans death, and therefore it was most gravely, judiciously, and properly provided by that Statute, that Impoysonment should be High-Treason, because whatsoever offence tendeth to the utter subversion and dissolution of Human Society is in the nature of High-Treason.

But it is an offence, that I may truly say of it, *Non est nostræ generis nec sanguinis*; It is, thanks be to God, rare in the Isle of Britain: It is neither of our Country, nor of our Church; You may find it in *Rome*, and *Italy*, there is a Religion for it; if it should come among us, it were better living in a Wilderness than in a Court.

For the particular fact upon *Overbury*; I knew the Gentleman, it is true, his mind was great, but it moved not in any great good order, yet certainly it did commonly fly at good things; and the greatest fault that ever I heard by him, was, That he made his Friend his Idol. But take him as he was, the Kings Prisoner in the Tower, and then see how the Case stands. In that place the State is (as it were) a Respondent to make good the Body of the Prisoner, and if any thing happen to him there, it may (though not in this Case, yet in some others) make an aspersion, and reflexion upon the State itself: For the person is utterly void of his own defence, his own care and providence can serve him to nothing; He is in the custody and preservation of Law, and we have a Maxim

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in our Law, that when a State is in preservation of Law, nothing can destroy it, or hurt it; and God forbid but the like should be in Persons, and therefore this was a circumstance of great aggravation.

Lastly, To have a man chased to death, in a manner, as it appears now by matter of Record (for other privacy of Cause I know not) by poyson after poyson: First Rosaker, then Arsenick, then Mercury sublimate, then sublimate again, it is a thing would astonish mans nature to hear it. The Poets feign that the Furies had whips, and that they were corded with poysoned Snakes; and a man would think that this subject were the very Case. To have a man tied to a post, and to scourge him to death with Serpents, for so truly may diversity of poysons be termed.

It pleased my Lord Chief Justice to let me know that which I heard with great comfort, which was the charge that his Majesty gave to himself, and the rest of the Commissioners in this Case, worthy to be written in Letters of Gold, That the business should be carried without touch to any that was innocent, not only without impeachment, but without aspersions, which was a most Noble and Princely caution; for mens Reputations are tender things, and ought to be like Christs Coat without seam. And it was more to be respected in this Case, because it met with two great Persons; A Nobleman that his Majesty had favoured and advanced, and his Lady, being of a great and Honourable House, though I think it be true that the Writers say, that there is no Pomegranate so fair, or so sound, but may have a perished Kernel. Nay, I see plainly in those excellent Papers of his Majesties own handwriting (as so many beams of Justice issuing from that Vertue which so much doth shine in him) the business so evenly carried without prejudice, whether it were a true Accusation on the one part, or a practice or false Accusation on the other, as shewed plainly that his Majesties judgment was, *Tanquam tabula rasa*, as a clean pair of Tables, and his ears, *Tanquam janua aperta*, as a gate not side open, but wide open to the Truth, as it should be discovered. And I may truly affirm, that there was never in this Kingdom, nor in any other, the blood of a private Gentleman vindicated, *Cum tanto motu Regni*, or to say better, *Cum tanto plausu Regni*: If it had concerned the King or Prince there could not have been greater, or better Commissioners. The term hath been almost turned into a *Fustium*, or *Vacancy*; the people being more willing to be lookers on in this business, than proceeders in their own. There hath been no care of discovery omitted, no moment of time lost; and therefore I will conclude, with the saying of Solomon, this part of my Speech, *Gloria Dei celare rem, and gloria Regis scrutari*



'*tari rem*, It is the glory of God to conceal a thing, and it is  
'the glory of the King to find it out. And his Majesties honor  
'is the greater; for that he shewed to the World this business,  
'as it hath relation to my Lord of *Somerset* (whose Case in no  
'sort I do fore-judge, being ignorant of the secrets of the cause,  
'but take him as the Law takes him, hitherto for a *suspect*)  
'I say the King hath to his great honor shewed, That were any  
'man in such a case of blood, as the Signet of his right-hand  
'(as the Scripture saith) he would put him off.

'Now will I come to the particular *Charge* of these Gentle-  
'men And first I will by way of *Narrative* relate the *Fact*, with  
'the occasion of it.

'This wretched man *Weston*, who was the *Actor*, or *Mechani-*  
'*cal* party in this Impoysonment, the first day being indicted by  
'a very substantial *Fury* of selected *Citizens*, to the number of  
'nineteen, who found *Billa vera*, yet nevertheless at the first  
'stood mute. But after some days intermission, it pleased God  
'to cast out the *Dumb Devil*, and he put himself upon his Trial,  
'and was by a *Fury* of great value, upon his own *Confessions*, and  
'other *testimonies*, found *guilty*: So as thirty and one sufficient  
'*Jurors* have past upon him, and he had also his Judgment and  
'Execution awarded. After this, being in preparation for an-  
'other World, he sent for Sir *Thomas Overbury's* Father, and  
'falling down upon his knees, with great remorse and compun-  
'ction asked him *forgiveness*; and afterwards again of his own  
'*motion*, desired to have his like prayer of *forgiveness* recommen-  
'ded to his Mother, who was absent. And at both times out  
'of the abundance of his heart confessed that he was to die *just-*  
'*ly*, and that he was worthy of death. And after again at his  
'Execution (which is a kind of sealing time of *Confessions*) even  
'at the point of death (though there were *Tempters* about him  
'he did again confirm publickly, that his Examinations were  
'true, and that he had been justly and honourably dealt with.  
'So here is a period of this man, which was the subject of this  
'calumny or affront of *Justice*. Wherein Mr. *Lumsden* plays his  
'part first, who in the time between *Westons* standing mute and  
'his *Trial*, frames a most odious and libellous *Relation*, contain-  
'ing as many untruths as lines, sets it down in writing with his  
'own hand, and delivers it to one of the *Bedchamber* to be put  
'into the Kings hands, falsifying all that was done the first day  
'of *Westons* Arraignment, turning the pike and point of his im-  
'putations upon the Lord Chief Justice of *England*, whose name  
'thus occurring, I cannot pass by, and yet I cannot skill of this  
'same *Flattery*, or *vulgar Attribute*; but this I will say of him,  
'and I would say as much to *Ages*, That never mans person and his  
'place were better met in a business, than my Lord Cook, and my Lord  
'Chief Justice, in the Cause of Overbury.

'Now

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‘ Now for the person of Master *Lumsden*, I know he is a  
 ‘ *Scotch* Gentleman, and thereby more ignorant of our *Laws*;  
 ‘ but I cannot tell whether this doth extenuate his fault, or in-  
 ‘ crease it; for as it may extenuate it in respect of *ignorance*, so  
 ‘ it doth aggravate it much in respect of *presumption*, to meddle  
 ‘ in that he understood not, unless some other mans cunning  
 ‘ wrought upon this mans boldness. The infusion of a *slander*  
 ‘ into a Kings ear, is of all forms of *Libels*, and *Slanders*, the  
 ‘ worst. It is true, that Kings may keep secret their *informa-*  
 ‘ *tion*, and then no man can enquire after them, while they are  
 ‘ shrined in their *Breast*: but where a King is pleased that a  
 ‘ man shall answer for his false information, divers precedents  
 ‘ of slanderous *Petitions* have been as severely punished, as slan-  
 ‘ derous *Libels*.

‘ For the Offence of Sir *John Wentworth*, and Sir *John Hollis*,  
 ‘ which was, to scandalize the *Justice* already past, or to cut  
 ‘ off the thread of something that is to come, these two Gentle-  
 ‘ men came mounted on Horseback, and in a ruffling and fa-  
 ‘ cing manner, presumed to *Examine* *Weston*, whether he did  
 ‘ poyson *Overbury*, or no; directly cross to that which had  
 ‘ been tried, and judged. For what was the Point tried?  
 ‘ That *Weston* had poysoned *Overbury*: And Sir *John Went-*  
 ‘ *worth*’s question was, whether he did poyson him? A direct  
 ‘ Contradictory. Whereupon *Weston* answered, that he did  
 ‘ him wrong; and turning to the Sheriff, said, *You promised*  
 ‘ *me I should not be troubled at this time*; and yet nevertheless  
 ‘ *Wentworth* prest him to answer, that he might pray with him.  
 ‘ I know not that Sir *John Wentworth* is an *Ecclesiastick*, that he  
 ‘ should cut any man from communion of Prayer; and for  
 ‘ all this vexing of the spirit of a poor man, now in the gate of  
 ‘ death, *Weston* stood constant, and said, *I die not unworthily, my*  
 ‘ *Lord Chief Justice hath my mind under his hand, and he is an*  
 ‘ *honourable and just Judge*. Sir *John Hollis* was not so much a  
 ‘ Questionist, but wrought upon the other Questions, and like  
 ‘ a Counsellor, wisht him to discharge his Conscience, and to  
 ‘ satisfy the World: What World I marvel! It was the  
 ‘ World at *Tyburn*: For the World at *Guildhall*, and the World  
 ‘ at *London*, were satisfied before; *Teste* the Bells that rang e-  
 ‘ very where. But men have got a fashion now a-days, that  
 ‘ two or three busie bodies will take upon them the name of the  
 ‘ World, and broach their own conceit, as if it were a general  
 ‘ opinion. Well, what more? When they could not work up-  
 ‘ on *Weston*, Sir *John Hollis* in an indignation, turned about his  
 ‘ horse, as the other was turning to his death, and said he was  
 ‘ sorry of such a Conclusion. That was to have the State honou-  
 ‘ red or justified.

‘ Sir



‘ Sir John Hollis offence hath another *Appendix*, before this in time, which was at the day of the Tryal. He presumed to give his *Verdict* openly, That if he were of the *Jury* he would not doubt what to do. Marry he saith he cannot well tell whether he spoke this before the *Jury* had given up their *Verdict* or after. Wherein there is little gained; for whether he were a *Perjuror*, or a *Postjuror*, the one was to prejudice the *Jury*, the other was to attaint them.

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‘ The offence of these Gentlemen is greater and more dangerous than is conceived. We have no *Spanish Inquisition*, no *Justice* in a corner, no gagging of mens mouths at their death, but they may speak freely to the last; but then it must come from the free motion of the party, not by tempting of *Questions*. The *Questions* that are asked ought to tend to further revealing of their own, or others guiltiness: But to use a *Question* in the nature of a cross interrogatory, to falsifie that which is *Res judicata*, is intolerable. That were to erect a *Court*, or Commission of review at *Tyburn*, against the *Court* of *Westminster*: For if the Answer be according to the Judgment past, it adds credit to *Justice*; if it be contrary, it derogateh nothing, yet it subjecteth the *Majesty* of *Justice* to a popular vulgar talk and opinion. My Lords, these are great and dangerous offences; for if we do not maintain *Justice*, *Justice* will not maintain us.

Then the *Examinations* being read, and further aggravated against these three Gentlemen, there passed Judgment upon them of Fine and Imprisonment.

Sir Thomas Monson, another of the Countesses *Agents* in this poysoning contrivance, had past one days Tryal at *Guildhall*. But the Lord Chief Justice Cook in his *Rhetorical Flourishes* at his Arraignment, vented some expressions (which he either deduced from *Northampton* assuring the Lieutenant of the Tower; that the making away of Sir Thomas Overbury would be acceptable to the King, or from some other secret hint received) as if he could discover more than the death of a private person, intimating, though not plainly, that *Overburies* untimely remove had something in it of retaliation, as if he had been guilty of the same Crime against Prince Henry, blessing himself with admiration at the horror of such actions. In which he flew so high a pitch, that he was taken down by a Court Lure, Sir Thomas Monsons Tryal laid aside, and he soon after set at liberty, and the Lord Chief Justices wings were clipt for it ever after.

Sir Thomas  
Monson ar-  
raigned.

And it was rumor'd, that the King (heightned to so much passion by this eruption of Sir Edward Cooks) went to the Council Table, and kneeling down there, desired God to lay a Curse

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upon



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The Lord  
Chief Justice  
blamed.The Lady A-  
rabella dies.

upon him and his posterity for ever, if he were consenting to Overburies death. But this cannot be asserted, being above our Sphere; yet as Mathematicians do propose to themselves imaginary Circles, for the several motions in the Heavens, and though there be none discovered, yet they find the effects of what they apprehend: So the sudden stopping of Monsons Tryal, put strange imaginations into mens heads, and those seconded by Reports too high for private discovery, their operation only falling under the common notion. But the Lord Chief Justice was blamed for flying out of his way; that having enough to prosecute the business, he would grasp after more till he lost all: For this Crime was thought second to none but the Gunpowder-plot; that would have blown up all indeed at a blow (a merciful cruelty) this would have done the same by degrees, a lingering, but as sure a way; one by one might have been culled out, till all opposers had been removed: Besides, the other Plot was scandalous to Rome, making Popery odious, this was scandalous to the Gospel ever since the first Nullity. The Devil could not have invented a more mischievous practice to Church and State.

1616 The Lady Arabella dying about this time in the Tower, set mens tongues and fears awork, that she went the same way. Such mischief doth one evil action introduce, that it makes a great Rode for Jealousie to pursue after it. The Lady was Daughter to Charles Stuart, younger Brother to our Kings Father, by Elizabeth Cavendish, who was married some years past to Sir William Seymour, Son to the Lord Beauchamp, and Grandchild to Edward Earl of Hertford; both at some distance allyed to the Crown, therefore such a Conjunction would not be admitted in the Royal Almanack, so dreadful is every apparition that comes near Princes Titles. Sir William Seymour for the Marriage was committed to the Tower, and the Lady Arabella confined to her House at High-gate. But after some imprisonment they conclude to escape beyond Sea together, appointing to meet at a certain place upon the Thames: Sir William leaving his man in his bed to act his part with his Keeper, got out of the Tower in a disguise, and came to the place appointed. She drest like a young Gallant in mans attire, followed him from her house, but staying long above the limited time, made him suspicious of her interception, so that he sent away, leaving notice if she came, that he was gone away before to Dunkirk. She, good Lady fraught with more fears, and lagging in her flight, was apprehended, brought back to the Tower, and there finished her earthly pilgrimage. She being dead, Sir William Seymour got leave to return home, and married since to the Lady Frances, Daughter to the late noble Earl of Essex, a Lady in whose breast dwells as much Honor as can be derived from noble Progenitors,



genitors, by whom he hath a very hopeful Issue, and by the death of his Grandfather was Earl, and now is Marquess of Hertford.

And now the Temples of Janus being shut, Warlike Abilliments grew rusty, and Bellona put on Masking-attire; for Scotland bought her Peace at a good rate, and Ireland found the fruits of hers growing up to her hand. Those Irish that had great Estates (though rude enough) the King suppld and ramed with Honours, and they that had little were content calmly to suck in what they had, and battel'd by it, so that they wanted nothing but moderation to make them happy. These Halcion days shined round about us. The influence of our Kings peaceable mind, had almost an universal operation Spain's ambition was contented to be bounded by the Pirene Hills, and the Atlantick Ocean, sucking in the fruits of Italy and Sicily, and hoarding up the Treasures of the Indies, willingly singing a Requiem to the Netherlands. France wanting Exercise surfeited with diseases at home, which by fits broke out into Tumors among themselves. The Germans swelled into a Dropsie of Voluptuousness, by Plenty, and the sweets of Peace, Politick Bodies are-like Natural; Full feeding contracts, gross humors, which will have vent. Only such Exercise as may refine, and keep the spirits active, and digest the grosser and fulginous matter, strengthens the Nerves of a Kingdom, or Republick. Nothing now but bravery and feasting, the Parents of Debauchery and Riot, flourished among us. There is no Theam for History when men spill more drink than blood; when plots and contrivances for Lust, acted in dark corners, are more practised than Stratagems in War; and when the Stages with silken Pageants and Poppets, that slacken the sinews, are more frequented than those Theaters of Honor, where Industry brawns and hardens the Arms: Peace is a great Blessing, if it bring not a Curse with it; but War is more happy in its effects than it, especially if it takes away the distemper that grows by long surfets, without destroying the Body. But since these buskind ornaments are wanting, we must imbellish our Discourses with such passages as paced up and down in the sock of Peace.

There had been in Prince Henries time a Treaty of Marriage betwixt him and a Daughter of Spain, which took no effect. Our King was real in his intentions, not willing to have his Sons Beams to display themselves but in a Royal Horizon. The Spanish policy clouded the business with delays, whether from the old grudge that was betwixt Queen Katharine and Henry the eighth, or the difference between the Nations in Religion? But the Spanish Courtesie being loth directly and point-blank to tell our King, he liked not the Conjunction, went with a slow-paced Gravity, such as he thought befitted the Civility of Prin-

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Peace every where.

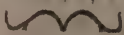
The King thinks of a match for his Son Prince Charles.



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ces, and gave a little light to hope that it might be accomplished. But *Salisbury* and others that managed those great affairs then, did at this *chink* discover, that their *formalities* were but *Spanish Complements*, which like the *air* that gave them *being*, soon vanished away. After this our Kings thoughts cast about, how he might provide a fit *match* for *Prince Charles*, who shined in the same *sphere* of *Honor* (that his Brother left for a *better*) but not so much inlightned with the peoples *love*, being less *active* and *splendid*, and (that I may not call it *sullenness*) more *reserved*. The *German Dames* were discoursed on (where his Sister shined in her *Glory*) as being of the same *Religion*, and more suitable in *Christian Policy*; but they were (in a manner) *subjects* to the Emperor, and that would give an allay to the *Super-elementary* extraction of Kings, which should be of a higher *Origine*, to amuse, and that they might be the more admired by their people, and therefore not so fitting in *State-Policy*. And seeing there were small hopes expected from *Spain*, a Daughter to *Henry* the great, late King of *France*, was aimed at, and *Sir Thomas Edmonds*, our Kings Lieger Ambassador, had (long before this time) made his little addreses, superficially, and founded the Chancel, but he met some *Rocks* and *Remoras* in the way, so that he could not discover clearly their intentions; and the King was loth to express himself plainly, lest he should receive an affront. And now sending (as he thought it civilly necessary) an Extraordinary Ambassador to congratulate the King of *France* his Marriage with *Anna* the *Infanta* of *Spain*, he thought it good *policy* to take this occasion to make a stricter scrutiny whether there were any ground to rest upon for matching his Son.

The Lord  
Hayes sent in-  
to France.

And who is fitter for that employment, being only for *Courtship* and *Bravery*, than the Lord *Hayes*, a Gentleman whose *Composition* of mind tended that way? He was born in *Scotland*, where *bravery* was in no *superfluity*, bred up in *France*, where he could not have it in *extravagancy*, but he found it in *England*, and made it his *vanity*. The King had a large hand, and he had a large heart, and though he were no great *Favourite* ever, yet he was never but in *favour*. He with a great Train of young Noblemen; and other *Courtiers* of eminency, suited themselves with all those ornaments that could give lustre to so dazelling an appearance as *Love*, and the *Congratulation* of it carried with it. All the study was, who should be most glorious, and he had the happiest fancy, whose invention could express something *Novel*, neat, and unusual, that others might admire. So that *Huntingtons Prophecy* was fulfilled here, when speaking of the time of the *Scots* Conquest of *England*, he said, *Multimoda variatione vestium & indumentorum designaretur*. I remember I saw one of the Lord Ambassadors Suits (and pardon me that

6 lib. H. Hunt.



that I take notice of such petty things) the Cloak and Hose were made of very fine white Beaver, imbroidered richly all over with Gold and Silver; the Cloak, almost to the Cape, within and without, having no lining but imbroidery, The Doublet was Cloth of Gold, imbroidered so thick, that it could not be discerned, and a white Beaver-hat suitable, Brim-full of imbroidery, both above and below. This is presented as an *Essay*, for one of the meanest he wore, so that if this Relation should last longer than his *old cloaths*, the Reader might well think it a *Romance*, favouring rather of *Fancy* than *Reality*.

But this kind of *Vanity* had been long *active* in *England*: For the last Parliament it was moved by some well-affected to *Reformation* of the *Abuses* of excess in *Apparel*, that there might be a *Regulation* of this kind of *Gallantry*, to the distinguishing of men one from another; For (it was said) some of means *Fortunes* wore *Garments* fitter for *Princes* than *Subjects*; and many *Gentry* of antient descent had wasted, and impoverished themselves and their Posterities with this *extravagancy*, so that it was very requisite to give some stop to this redundant *humor*. To which was answered, That if those of *mean Fortunes* went so richly attired, and came not honestly by their *ornaments*, they would be quickly found out, and there were good Laws enough for such Transgressors. But as there is no perpetuity of *Being* on *Earth*, so there is a continual *vicissitude* and *revolution* in all *sub-lunary* things, some are advanced, and some decline, *God pulleth down one, and setteth up another*. If any Noble, or antiently descended Family will be so mad and foolish to beggar themselves and their Posterities with this, or any other excess, 'tis very probable that some man of more wisdom and merit will enjoy that which the other hath so idly and prodigally mispent; for to set such limitations will damp the spirits of *Industry*. So the motion was declined.

But to return to the Lord *Hayes*. Thus accoutred and accomplished, he went into *France*, and a day for *Audience* being prefixed, all the argument and dispute betwixt him and his gallant Train (which took up some time) was, how they should go to the *Court*. *Coaches*, like *Curtains*, would eclipse their *splendor*; riding on horsback in *Boots*, would make them look like *Travellers*, not *Courtiers*; and not having all *Foot-cloaths* it would be an unsuitable mixture: Those that brought rich trappings for their Horses, were willing to have them seen, so it was concluded for the *Foot-cloth*, and those that have none (to their bitter cost) must furnish themselves. This preparation begot expectation, and that filled all the *Windows*, *Balcones*, and *Streets* of *Paris* as they passed with a multitude of *Spectators*, Six *Trumpeters*, and two *Marshals* (in *Tawny Velvet*

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The Lord  
Hayes rides in  
state to the  
Court.



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Velvet Liveries, compleatly Suited, laced all over with Gold, richly, and closely laid) led the way; the Ambassador followed with a great Train of Pages and Footmen in the same rich Livery, incircling his Horse, and the rest of his Retinue according to their Qualities and Degrees, in as much bravery as they could devise, or procure, followed in couples, to the wonderment of the beholders. And some said (how truly I cannot assert) the Ambassadors Horse was shod with Silver-shoes, lightly tacked on; and when he came to a place where *Persons*, or *Beauties* of eminency were, his very Horse prancing, and curveting, in humble reverence flung his shoes away, which the greedy understanders scrambled for, and he was content to be gazed on, and admired, till a *Farrier*, or rather the *Argentier* in one of his rich Liveries, among his train of Footmen, out of a Tawny Velvet bag took others, and tacked them on, which lasted till he came to the next troop of *Grandies*: And thus with much ado he reached the *Louvre*.

All Complements and outward Ceremonies of State being performed, the Lord Ambassador made his business known by more private addresses, which in appearance was well resented, but indeed not intended, and came to no effect: For the Duke of *Savoy* had anticipated the young Ladies affection for the Prince of *Piemont* his Son. The *Savoyan Agents* bringing more Gold in their hands than on their backs, had so smoothed the way, that not only those about the Princess, but the great ones themselves were made workers for him. After the Ambassador had been feasted magnificently, with all his gallant Train, in several places, to shew the *Grandure* of *France*, he came over into *England*, and practised it here, making many times upon several occasions such *stupendous Feasts*, and heaped *Banquets*, as if all the *Creatures* had contributed to his excess. I know not what limits or bounds are set to the *glories* of Princes Courts, or Nobles minds. We see the Sea it self, and all his tributary Rivers, do ebb and flow, but if they swell so high, to overflow that Bank, that *Reason* hath prescribed to keep them in, what *Inundations* of sad mischief follow; *Experience* shews.

A Breach betwixt the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice.

A little before this time there was a breach between the Lord Chief Justice *Cook*, and the Lord Chancellor *Ellesmer*, which made a passage to both their declines. Sir *Edward Cook* had heard and determined a Cause at the Common Law, and some report there was juggling in the business. The *witness* that knew, and should have related the Truth, was wrought upon to be absent, if any man would undertake to excuse his *non appearance*. A pragmatial fellow of the party undertook it, went with the *witness* to a Tavern, called for a Gallon pot full of Sack, bid him drink, and so leaving him went into the Court.

This



This *witness* is called for as the prop of the Cause, the Undertaker answers upon Oath, *He left him in such a condition, that if he continues in it but a quarter of an hour, he is a dead man.* This evidencing the mans incapability to come, deaded the matter so, that it lost the Cause. The *Plaintiffs* that had the Injury bring the business about in *Chancery*: The *Defendants* (having had Judgment at Common Law) refuse to obey the Orders of that Court, whereupon the Lord Chancellor for contempt of the Court commits them to prison. They petition against him in the *Star-Chamber*, the Lord Chief Justice joyns with them, foments the difference, threatening the Lord Chancellor with a *Premunire*. The Chancellor makes the King acquainted with the business, who sent to Sir Francis Bacon his Attorney General, Sir Henry Montague, and Sir Randolph Crew his Serjeants at Law, and Sir Henry Yelverton his Solicitor, commanding them to search what *Presidents* there have been of late years, wherein such as complained in *Chancery* were relieved according to Equity and Conscience, after judgment at Common Law. These being men well versed in their *Profession* (after canvassing the matter thoroughly) returned answer to the King, That there hath been a strong current of *Practice* and *proceeding* in *Chancery*, after Judgment at Common Law, and many times after *Execution*, continued since Henry the seventh's time, to the Lord Chancellor that now is, both in the Reigns (*seriatim*) of the several Kings, and the times of the several Chancellors, whereof divers were great learned men in the Law; It being in Cases where there is no Remedy for the Subject by the strict course of the Common Law unto which the Judges are sworn. This satisfied the King, justified the Lord Chancellor, and the Chief Justice received the foil: Which was a bitter *potion* to his spirit, but not strong enough to work on him as his *Enemies* wished.

Therefore to humble him more, he is brought on his knees at the Council Table, and three other *Ingredients* added to the Dose, of a more active operation.

First, He is charged, That when he was the Kings Attorney, in the beginning of his Reign, he concealed a *Statute* of twelve thousand pounds, due to the King from the late Lord Chancellor Hatton, wherein he deceived the trust reposed in him.

Secondly, That he uttered words of very high contempt as he sate in the seat of *Justice*, saying the Common Law of England would be overthrown, and the light of it obscured, reflecting upon the King.

And thirdly, His uncivil and indiscreet carriage before His Majesty (being assisted by his Privy Council and Judges) in the Case of *Commendams*.

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An. Christi

1616.

The Chief Justice is humbled.



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An. Christi

1616.

His Faults.

The last he confest, and humbly craved his Majesties *Pardon*. The other two he palliated with some colourable excuses, which were not so well set off, but they left such a tincture behind that he was commanded to a private life. And to expiate the Kings anger, he was enjoined in that leisurely retirement to review his Books of *Reports*, which the King was informed had many extravagant *opinions*, published for positive and good Law, which must be corrected, and brought to his *Majesty* to be perused. But the Title of the Books wherein he styles himself *Lord Chief Justice of England*, was to be expunged, being but *Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench*. And at his departure from the *Council Table* (where he humbly acknowledged his Majesties *mercy*, and their Lordships *justice*) the *Lord Treasurer* gave him a *wipe*, for suffering his Coachman to ride bare before him in the *streets*; which fault he strove to cover, by telling his Lordship, his Coachman did it for his own ease. But not long after the *Lord Treasurer* came under his *lash* in the *Star-Chamber*, and he requited him for it.

While he was under this *Cloud*, all his faults were ripped up, either by his Enemies, or his Well-wishers, who advise him to be humbled for this Visitation. That *Affliction* only levels the mole-hills of *pride* in us, plows up the *heart*, and makes it fit for *wisdom* to sow her seed, and *Grace* to bring forth her increase. That he delighted to speak much, which becomes a *Pleader*, and not a *Judge*; for so his *affections* were entangled with a liking of his own *arguments*, and an undervaluing of others; when having a large and fruitful mind, he should not labour so much what to speak, as what to leave unspoken. *Such lusty soyls are often to be weeded!* That he was wont to praise, and dispraise, upon slight grounds, the same man, and that sometimes suddenly, so that his *reproofs*, or *commendations*, are neglected and contemned; when as the *censure* of a *Judge* (coming slowly, but surely) should be a *brand* to the *guilty*, and a *crown* to the *vertuous*. That he will jest at any man in publick, without respect of the Persons dignity, or his own; which disgraceth his *gravity*, more than it can advance the opinion of his *wit*. That he makes the Law to lean a little too much to his own *opinion*, whereby he shews himself a *legal Tyrant*, striking with that Weapon whom he pleases, being able to turn the edg any way. That having the living of a thousand, he hath no *bowels* of *compassion* to men in want; the hand that hath taken so much, can give little, but gets, gets still, as if he did try how much he could gather to account for at the great and general *Audit-day*. That in the Case of *Overbury*, he used too many delays, till Delinquents hands were loose, and his bound; in which slowness he was a *Fabius*, but the humour of *Marcellus* would have done better; for



for he stopt the Confessions and Accusations of some, that would have spoken enough to remove more *stumbling blocks* out of his way; and yet he did not this in *favour* of any, but out of present unadvised *humour*, supposing enough behind to discover all; which fell not out so: And therefore, though he were to be commended for what he did, yet he is to be reprehended for many Circumstances in the doing; and these are now briars in his sides, and thorns in his eyes. Much more, to this purpose, was written to him, and vented against him.

Truly he was a Man of excellent *parts*, but not without his *frailties*: for as he was a *Storehouse* and *Magazine* of the *Common Law*, for the present times; and laid such a Foundation for the future, that *Posterity* may for ever build on; So his *passions* and *pride* were so predominant, that boyling over, he lost (by them) much of his own *fulness*, which extinguished not only the *valuation*, but *respect* to his *merit*: So often is that heat, that gives life to noble *Parts*, by a circular motion, the ruin of them! Yet to cool his *distemper*, and to bring him to himself, he is within a short time called to the *Council Table*, the King being loth to lose his *abilities*.

The Lord Chancellor *Ellesmer* also about this time, weary of his publick employment, and weakned with *age*, desired the Kings leave to retire, that he might make use of the short time left him, to cast up his accounts for another World: The King gave the *Seal*, and the place of Lord Chancellor, to Sir *Francis Bacon*, his Attorney General; and the old Lord *Ellesmer* wore out the remnant of his life in quiet, dying in a good old age. and full of *virtuous* fame, leaving a Noble *Posterity*, who enjoy a great Estate with the Title of Earl of *Bridgwater*.

Time and Age had also worn out Sir *Ralph Winwood*, the Kings able, faithful, and honest Servant, and Secretary; who dying, Sir *Robert Nanton*, and Sir *George Calvert*, were made Secretaries; men of contrary *Religions*, and *Factions* (as they were then stiled) *Calvert* being an *Hispaniolized Papist*: the King matching them together, like contrary *Elements*, to find a *medium* betwixt them.

But the greatest remove was the Lord Treasurers staff, which was broken by *Somersets* fall, the way being now made plain, and laid open, that discovered the *Treasurers* imperfections, and his *wives* corruptions: The Lady keeping the *Shop*, and Sir *Fohn Bingle*, her Officer, crying, *what d'ye lack?* as the new Lord Chancellor *Bacon* was pleased to express himself in the *Star-Chamber*; whither the *business* being brought, the *sofe* was open'd, and all the bad *humours* flow to the ill-affected part. *Bribery* and *Extortion* is the matter that appears, which is squeez'd out, and aggravated by Sir *Edward Cook*, (newly perkt

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1616.

And short  
Character.

The Lord  
Chancellor  
retires.

Sir Ralph Win-  
wood dies.

The Lord  
Treasurer  
questioned in  
Star-Cham-  
ber.

*Worship* *dele.*  
*Lionel E.* *of Middle*



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perkt up, such is the Worlds bucket!) who very learnedly cited many *Precedents* of *Treasurers* in former Kings Reigns, that miscarried, and their several *punishments*.

He begins with *Randolphus de Britton*, Treasurer to King Henry the third, who had mis-mployed the Kings Treasure, deceived the King in his Office, for which he was questioned, his Lands and Goods seized into the Kings hands, and sent prisoner to the Tower, where he submitted himself to the King, confest his fault, gave up his place, & *pro Gratia habenda* (saith the Record) obtained Restitution of his Goods and Lands, paying only three thousand pounds Fine. This was a piece of *wisdom* (saith he) as well as *Humility*; alluding to the present Lord Treasurers stout heart that would not submit.

The second was *Petrus de Rivallis*, who was Treasurer of Ireland, and Chamberlain of England in Edward the firsts time, who had taken *Bribes* in his Office, *Tam de Religiosis, quam de Laicis*. Of which being convicted, he lost his place, and was put to his Fine and Ransom.

And in the same Kings Reign, The Abbot of *Westminster*, and his *virtuous Monks*, took out of the Kings Treasure at *Westminster* many thousand pounds, *Ad inestimabile damnum Regis & Regni*. The Abbot being sent to the Tower, and the Monks disposed to several prisons, and notwithstanding they pleaded *Priviledg of Clergy-men* for their Tryal, yet in the Case of imbezelling the Kings Treasure, they had no *Priviledg*, but the *Temporalities* of the Abby were seized for *satisfaction*.

cov. &amp; Lichf.

In King Edward the seconds time, *walter de Langton*, a Bishop, was Treasurer to the King; He did take of the Earl of *Montcalto* to be a friend to him (*in agendis negotiis versus dominum Regem*) a hundred pounds (the said Earl being a prisoner) to let him go free to do his business. And this was given, as the Record speaks, *De spontanea voluntate*, for a *Gratuity*, & *ex curialitate sua*, for his courtesie, yet this was adjudged *Extortion* and *Bribery*. Again, *John de Engam* was indicted of *Trespas* by this Bishop for the Mannor of *Fubie*, whereunto the King pretended *Title*, and was by the Bishop imprisoned for the *Trespas*. But afterwards another Mannor was conveyed to this Bishop, *ob diversas curialitates*, for courtesies that he had done, and so *Engam* was discharged of his Indictment, and though that the Bishop pleaded, that *Voluntas Regis potius ad imprisonamentam quam ad finem*, because it was the Kings pleasure rather to punish by Imprisonment than Fine, yet this was adjudged *Bribery*. Again, the Bayliff of *Oxford* was committed for Arrerages of a hundred pounds in his Account, and thereupon the Mannor of *Calcot* was conveyed unto the Bishop, and the Bishop of his pure devotion did discharge him of that Imprisonment. But these were Pleas and Flourishes of guilty men, as the Record



cord faith, but they were all three judged *Extortion* and *Bribery*, and for these the Bishop was put from his place, fined, and committed to the Tower.

*William* Lord *Latimer*, in *Edward* the thirds time, being appointed to pay the Kings debts, did buy in some of them at lower rates than was due, as eighty pounds for a hundred, and thirty pounds for forty; By which course he made the King a *Bankrupt Compounder*, and for this he was fined, and lost all his Offices.

In like case was the Lord *Nevil*, who was trusted to pay the Army, but he bought the debt of them, and justified, that they gave him the remainder of their free gift, but for this he was fined, and committed to the Tower.

These, and many other precedents and examples, armed with Authority and Antiquity, were mustered up, and the Lord Treasurers miscarriages exasperated, especially for embezelling those Moneys the King lately received of the State of the *Netherlands* for the redemption of the cautionary Towns, *Flushing*, and *Brill*, which the King was forced to relinquish again to the States, because he had no money to pay the Soldiers there; and that money being designed for the *Irish* Army (which was also in great Want) it was thought the more heinous, and a double miscarriage, being it was so dearly bought, and soundly spent. But the Earl himself being a man of a noble disposition (though too indulgent to his too active Wife) had retained the Kings favour, if he had taken Sir *Edward Cooks* counsel, and submitted, and not strove to justify his own integrity, which he maintained with a great deal of confidence, till it was too late, for then his submission did him little good. But his Wives faults being imputed to him, he was fined thirty thousand pounds, and imprisonment in the Tower; Sir *John Bingley* fined two thousand pounds, and imprisonment in the Fleet: For it was thought the Lord and Lady could not have found the way into these obscure, low, and dark contrivances, without the light of his help. Which sentence was pronounced by the Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, who though he were of transcendent parts, yet was he tainted with the same infection, and not many years after perished in his own corruption; which shews, That neither Example nor Precept (he having seen so many, and been made capable of so much) can be a Pilot sufficient to any Port of Happiness (though Reason be never so able to direct) if Grace doth not give the gale.

But the King, more to exalt Justice, and to shew the people, his high abilities, came in June this year to the *Star-chamber*, where in a long, and well-weighed Discourse, he turns over the volume of his mind, that the World might read his excellent parts in lively characters.

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1616.

The King comes to the Star-Chamber.



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He told the Lords he came thither in imitation of *Henry* the seventh his great Predecessor, and the reason he came no sooner was, that he resolved with *Pythagoras* for seven years to keep silence, and learn the Laws of the Kingdom, before he would teach others, and the other seven years he was studying to find an occasion to come, that might not be with prejudice: For in his own cause he could not come; in a great cause betwixt man and man, it might be thought some particular favour brought him thither; and in a small Cause it was not fit for him to come; but now he had so much to say in relation to good Government, that he could no longer forbear.

First, He charges himself.

Secondly, The judges.

Thirdly, The Auditory in general.

In his own Charge he lays a foundation for raising a most excellent structure in Government, wherein he was a Master-workman, and had a most admirable Theory, and full abilities to put it in practice, and happily the bent of his intentions tended that way, though it had for the most part a loose string.

And to that which concerned the Judges, he not only reckons up their Duties in their publick Relation, but shews them the Jurisdiction and power of their several Courts, how far every one did extend, to which he would have them limited, that they might not clash and contest one against another, to shake the Basis on which they were built, but that there might be a harmony and sweet concordance among them, Expressing himself with such Elegance and Prudence, that the most studious Lawyer (whose design had been to imbellish a Discourse fitting for the ears of his Prince) could not have gone beyond what he expressed to his People; so strong and retentive was his judgment, and memory, so natural, and genuine that which came from them, that it did emanate, flow from him to the admiration of the hearers.

To the people in general, and under-Officers, he gave an admonition to submit to the Law, and Justice of the Land, and not to go upon new Puritan strains (such was his expression) to make all things popular, but to keep themselves within the ancient limits of Obedience: For he feared Innovation as a Monster got loose, which should be always kept in such a Labyrinth, as none should come at, but by the Clave of Reason.

Then he commands the Judges in their Circuits to take notice of those Justices of the Peace, that were most active for the good of the Country, that they might have encouragement from him. For (to use his own words) I value them that serve me faithfully there, equally with those that attend my person. Therefore let none be ashamed of this Office, or be discouraged in being a Justice of the Peace, if he serve worthily in it.

The



The Chancellor under me makes Justices, and puts them out; but neither I, nor he, can tell what they are: therefore we must be informed by you, Judges, who can only tell, who do well, and who do ill, without which how can the good be cherished, and the rest put out? the good Justices are careful to attend the service of the King and Country; the bad are idle slow-bellies, that abide always at home, given to a life of ease and delight, liker *Ladies* than *Men*; and think it is enough to contemplate Justice, when as, *Virtus in actione consistet*; contemplative Justice is no Justice, and contemplative Justices are fit to be put out.

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Another sort of Justices, are Busic-bodies, and will have all men dance after their *Pipe*, and follow their Greatness, or else will not be content: A sort of men, *Qui se primos omnium esse putant, nec sunt tamen*: These proud spirits must know that the Country is ordained to follow God, and the King, and not them.

Another sort are they that go seldom to the Kings service, but when it is to help some of their Kindred or Alliance; so they come to help their Friends, or hurt their Enemies, making Justice serve for a shadow to *Faction*, and tumultuating the Country.

Another sort are Gentlemen of great worth in their own conceit, and cannot be content with the present form of Government, but must have a kind of liberty in the people, and must be gracious Lords, and Redeemers of their Liberty; and in every cause that concerns Prerogative give a snatch against Monarchy, through their Puritanical itching after Popularity, some of them have shewed themselves too bold of late in the lower House of Parliament; And when all is done, if there were not a King, they would be less cared for than other men. So wise the Kings fears made him, and so wary to prevent the popular violence! And even in these Infant-times, the contention doth appear, which afterward got more strength, when by his power he had gained in every County such as he made subservient to his will: For as the King strove to loosen the Piles and Banks of the peoples liberties, so the people strove to bound, and keep off the Inundation of his Prerogative.

Then he takes notice of the swarms of Gentry, that through the instigation of their Wives, or to new model and fashion their Daughters (who if they were unmarried mar'd their Marriages, if married, lost their Reputations, and rob their husbands purses) did neglect their Country Hospitality, and cumber the City, a general Nuisance to the Kingdom, being as the spleen to the Body, which as in measure it over-grows, the Body wastes, and seeing a Proclamation will not keep them at home, he requires that the power of the Star-chamber may not only regulate them, but



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An. Christi

1617.

Unstable spi-  
rits mutable.The Arch-  
Bishop of Spa-  
lato comes in-  
to England.

Dies at Rome.

France in com-  
bustion.

but the exorbitancy of the *new buildings* about the City (which he still much repined at) being a *shelter* for them; where they spent their Estates in Coaches, Lacquies, and fine Cloaths, like *French-men*; living miserably in their houses, like *Italians*; becoming *Apes* to other Nations: Whereas it was the honour of the *English Nobility and Gentry* (above all Countries in the World) to be hospitable among their Tenants; Which they may the better do, by the *fertility* and abundance of all things. Thus the King pried into every *miscarriage*, being willing to reform these (then growing) abuses.

But among all the heights of Reason that the spirit of man doth actuate, and give life to, the highest and most transcendent is that of *Religion*, which as it partakes more or less of *Faith*, so it inclines more or less to *Fancy*: Wavering and unstable *minds* are not only blown about with the wind of every opinion, but *pride* and *discontent* (conjoyned often, though of different operations) are *engins* sufficient to shake the *foundation*, though never so firmly settled. Some men turn over the leaf of *Conscience*, and change a good *Religion* for a worse; some the leaf of *Policy*, leaving an evil *Religion* for a better: but these kind of *spirits* will not be brought under by fasting and prayer, unless it be by him that can discover the heart of *hypocrisie*, though in as variable a *capacity* as the countenance.

These times gave examples of both these *humours*, some that went from us to *Rome*, and some that came from *Rome* to us. Among the rest, one of eminency, *Marcus Antonius de Dominis*, Arch-Bishop of *Spalato*, a man old and corpulent, unfit for *Travel*, being almost at his journies end by *Nature*, came into *England* with as little *Grace*. Here he preaches, rails, and writes against *Rome*, (extolling the *Protestant Religion*) till he came to be Dean of *Windsor*, and Master of the *Savoy*, which some few years he enjoyed; Then, whether he had higher *hopes* home-wards, or the *humour* and *fancy* altering, like a *wandering Star*, he goes *Retrograde*, placing himself again in the *Roman Calendar*: but he is made to reckon at *Rome* by the *Gregorian* account; And though he thought himself in a full *Conjunction* with the *Stars* there of the greatest *Magnitude* (having publicly recanted, and as bitterly reproached the *Protestant Doctrine* there, as he had exalted it here) yet the *Inquisition* had so strong an influence upon him, that it hindered the operation of it, for he died in *Prison*, and they buried him both like a new *Heretick*, and an old *Emperor*, committing his *Body* to the *Flames*. Such honour have all such *Saints*! For they hold it as a *Maxim*, That that foundation is never again to be built upon, that was once of a tottering temple.

About this time, *France* raging with passion, plaid her bloody pranks. There is in that Kingdom a mad *Genius* domineering, which



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which like *Climaterical Diseases*, take rest, and after some intermission break out again. The very same *Tragedy* acted at this time, was newly revived there three and thirty years after, as is now in the year 1650. perspicuous to every eye of *Reason*; the *Persons* in power the same, running all in one parallel. The *Queen-Mother* and the *Marquess D'Ancre* then, the *Queen-Mother* and the *Cardinal Mazarino* now; both *Aliens*, both *Favourites*. The *Prince of Conde*, (the Head, and one of the *Nobility*) imprisoned then, for opposing the swelling greatness of that *Favourite*; The *Prince of Conde*, and the other *Princes*, *Conti* and *Longuevil*, imprisoned now (though since set at liberty, having a powerful Army afoot) for opposing this. The *Nobility*, rise in Arms against the young King, and his Mother, to assist the *Princes*; so they do now. The *Complaints* and *Grievances* are the same; The *Princes* repined that such an *Upstart* should manage all the great Affairs with so much licentiousness, and they sit still as lookers on, and have nothing to do; All *Offices*, both *Civil* and *Military*, bringing their *Garlands*, and strowing their choicest flowers at *Marshal D'Ancre's* feet, which stunk in their *Nostrils*, and they infected the *People*, who are there but what the great *Ones* will make them; so that the Kingdom groaned under the insolencies of an insulting *Mushroom*, bred from the excrescency of *Royal humours*, as it doth now. *Lewis* the 14. fights with his *Subjects* now upon the same account that *Lewis* the 13. did then. But I can only give a *Catastrophe* to one of these *Tragedies*; the last *Act* of this now a playing wants its *Exit*.

And to conclude the first, *Lewis* the 13. finding his Mothers power swell so high, as to threaten a deluge of *Noble Blood*, for the preservation of a *Mechanick Florentine*, and willing to be rid of a *Governess*, who eclips'd his *Glory*, commanded *Monsieur De Vitry*, Captain of his Guard, to seize on the *Marquess* at his first access to Court. The *Marquess* (being then in his Government in *Normandy*, placing and displacing *Officers*, for his greater security) hearing there were new *Whisperers* admitted to the King, came to the Court in a full career, with a rushing Retinue at his heels, thinking to remove all *Obstacles* in his way; but there he met the great One, *Death*, waiting for him, that his policy and high-flying thoughts never minded. For he had no sooner entred the Gates of the *Louvre*, but *De Vitry* arrested him; and seeing him step back upon his arrest, as it were to lay hold on his *Sword*: he kill'd him instantly with a *Pistol*; The noise whereof put the whole Court into an uproar. The King approved the Fact, the Queen lamented it; but she must mourn no longer in the Court, therefore removed thence with a small Train, to practice her *Italian Artifices*, as she afterwards did, to the disturbance of most parts of *Christendom*.

A. Reg. 15.

An. Christi

1647.



A. Reg. 15.

An. Christi  
1617.

dom. The poor Marquess rested not in death; for though he was privately buried that night, yet the rage and malice of the People lighted them to his Grave the next day, and tearing him thence, and tying his naked body to an *Asses* tail, drew him through the Streets of *Paris*, and hanged him by the heels upon a Gibbet on the new Bridge; where they cut off flakes of his Body, to send as Presents to their Friends. And when they had satiated themselves thus, they took down the mangled Carcass, and made another Progress through the City, till wearied with their Delight, they strove to burn the Body, to be rid of it: but the fire being not so active as their malice, they threw the tattered bones into the River; so that their Rage pulled him out of the *Earth*, hung him in the *Air*, burnt him in the *Fire*, and left him in the *Water*. And (as they thought) to leave no memory of him, pulled down his house to the ground; which was afterwards ratified by publick justice, and his Wife was condemned by the same, and burned for a *witch*. And to make their names the more odious, their very birth-places were ripped up, and they were both found to proceed from the *dunghills* of *Florence*. Thus ended this sad *Tragedy*; which serves as *Lights* and *Sea-marks* of *Mortality*, to teach us how to steer our *brittle Bark* in this *Worlds Tempest*, that we bear not too much *sail*, but keep a moderate and even *course*, betwixt the *rocks* of *pride*, and *shallows* of *contempt*, both which are equally dangerous.

The King goes  
into Scotland.

Our King dedicated this Summer to the Northern *Climate*; it is now fourteen years *Revolution*, since the *beams* of *Majesty* appeared in *Scotland*. He begins his Journey with the *Spring*, warming the Country as he went, with the *Glories* of the *Court*: Taking such *Recreations* by the way, as might best beguile the *days*, and cut them shorter; but lengthen the *nights* (contrary to the *Seasons*) For what with *Hawking*, *Hunting*, and *Horse-racing*, the *days* quickly ran away; and the *nights* with *Feasting*, *Masking* and *Dancing*, were the more extended. And the King had fit *Instruments* for these *Sports* about his *Person*, as *Sir George Goring*, *Sir Edward Zouch*, *Sir John Fennit*, and others, that could fit and *obtemperate* the King *humour*: For he loved such *Representations*, and *Disguises* in their *Maskarades*, as were witty, and sudden; the more *ridiculous*, the more *pleasant*.

His new Fa-  
vourite.

And his new *Favourite*, being an excellent *Dancer*, brought that *Pastime* into the greater *Request*. To speak of his *Advancement* by *Degrees*, were to lessen the Kings *Love*; for *Titles* were heaped upon him, they came rather like *showers*, than *drops*. For as soon as *Somerset* declined, he mounted. *Such is the Court motion!* *Knighthood*, and *Gentleman* of the *Bed-Chamber*, were the first *sprinklings*: and then the old *Earl* of



of *Worcester* (who had been long Master of the Horse to the late Queen, and continued it to this time) was made Lord Privy Seal, in exchange of his place, and a good sum of money put into the Scale: And Sir *George Villers* (Baron of *Whaddon*, Viscount *Villers*, and Earl of *Buckingham*, also of the Privy Council) is made Master of the Horse. In this glory he visits *Scotland* with the King, and is made a Privy Counsellor there. *Favourites* are not compleat *Figures*, if the Princes Bounty be not circular, as well in his *Northerly* motion as his *Southerly*. He now reigns sole *Monarch* in the Kings affection, every thing he doth is admired for the *doers* sake. No man dances better, no man runs, or jumps better; and indeed he jumpt *higher* than ever *Englishman* did in so short a time, from a private Gentleman to a *Dukedom*. But the King is not well without him, his *company* is his *solace*, and the Court *Grandeess* cannot be well but by him, so that all addressees are made to him, either for place, or office in Court or Commonwealth. The Bishops Seas did also ebb and flow, from the Wane or Fulness of his Influence upon them; and having a numerous kindred of the rank of Gentry, which he planted about him, as a Nursery in the Court, to make them *virescere*, and Spring up the better, the Dew of these Offices, and the fresh Springs that came from those Seas must be contributed. It cannot with *modesty* be expressed how greedily some of our Prelates would clear all the passages of a bad Conscience, to bring in such Waters of *comfort*, lest it should bespatter the more worthy, and brand them all with *Simony*, which dares not be done. But where God hath his *Church*, the Devil many times will have his *Chappel*: It was ever his *Ambition* to be like unto him.

But among all the Dances that these Times were guilty of, none of the *Maskaradoes* presented so horrid a *Vizard* as the *Churchmans*: For some of the Bishops, pretending *Recreations*, and *liberty* to servants and the common people (of which they carved to themselves too much already) procured the King to put out a Book to permit dancing about *May-poles*, *Church-ales*, and such debauched Exercises upon the Sabbath day after Evening Prayer (being a specious way to make the King, and them, acceptable to the *Rout*) which Book came out with a command, injoyning all Ministers to read it to their *Parishioners*, and to approve of it, and those that did not, were brought into the High *Commission*, imprisoned, and suspended. This Book being only a trap to catch some conscientious men, that they could not otherwise with all their cunning insnare: For they would preach the Gospel in a *Fools-coat* (as some of them exprest) rather than be silenced for a *surplus*. And their Conjuring of them with the Cross in Baptism, and the Circle of the Ring in Marriage, could not make a well-composed *Reason*, and a sound *Conscience* then start

P

at

A. Reg. 15.

An. Christi

1617.

Made Earl of Buckingham.

The Book of Sports obtruded.



A. Reg. 15.

An. Christi

1617.



\* His House in  
Edenburgh so  
called.  
Piety of the  
Lord Mayor  
of London.

at it: But when so frightful an Apparition as the dancing Book appeared, some of the Ministers left all for fear, others by force, they were so terrified with it. These, and such like Machinations of the Bishops, to maintain their Temporal Greatness, Ease, and Plenty, made the stones in the walls of their Palaces, and the beam in the timber, afterwards cry out, moulder away, and come to nothing: Whereas if those in most Authority had not been so pragmatical, but holy, prudent, and godly men (as some others of the Function were) their light might have shined still upon the Mount, and not have gone out as it did, offensive to the nostrils of the rubbish of the people.

The King in his return from Scotland made his Progress through the Hunting-countries (his Hounds and Hunters meeting him) Sherwood-Forrest, Need-wood, and all the Parks and Forrests in his way, were ransacked for his Recreation. And every night begat a new day of delight, till he brought Holyrood-day (not \* Holyrood-house) to White-hall.

This new incroachment upon the Sabbath gave both King and people more liberty to prophane the day with authority: For if the Court were to remove on Monday, the Kings Carriages must go out the day before. All times were alike; and the Court being to remove to Theobalds the next day, the Carriages went through the City of London on the Sabbath, with a great deal of clatter and noise in the time of Divine service. The Lord Mayor hearing of it, commanded them to be stopt, and this carried the Officers of the Carriages with a great deal of violence to the Court, and the business being presented to the King with as much asperity as men in authority (crossed in their humors) could express it; It put the King into a great Rage, Swearing, he thought there had been no more Kings in England but himself; yet after he was a little cooled, he sent a warrant to the Lord Mayor, commanding him to let them pass, which he obeyed, with this Answer, while it was in my power I did my duty, but that being taken away by a higher power, it is my duty to obey. Which the King upon second thoughts took well, and thanked him for it.

Juggling of the  
Jesuits.

As Prophaneness crept in on one side, so did Idolatry and Superstition on the other; for there was more enmity against Ministers of the Gospel than Popish Priests; they swarmed over the Kingdom, working miraculous Projects in every corner. One pack of them got into Stafford-shire, among some of the Giffords in that County, Gentlemen of good Estates, where they practised their Artifices to seduce the people. There must be a Ground-work, Estates to keep them (being like the Gout, never troubling the poor) and then there must be materials, Correspondents to act for them. Holiness and Piety must be confirmed by Miracle, and these Miracles must be visible to the Peoples eyes, that they may



may convey *belief* better to the *heart*. If the *Priests* be holy, and can subdue *Satan*, the *Religion* they profess must be heavenly, that triumphs over *principalities*, and *powers*, and *spiritual wickedness*, bringing all to obedience. These are finesses and subtilties of Mastring Wits (calling them *Pia Fraudes*, godly deceits, Worms to bring Fish to the Net) and this kind of *frippery* they are ever fraught with.

For about this time there was a Boy born at *Bilston* in that County, whose father, mother, neighbours, and many other people, with admiration, did absolutely think posselt with a *Devil*; for he had strange, sudden, violent, distorting fits, that appeared to all the beholders contrary to Nature, and being not full fifteen years old, it could not be imagined that any thing of *Impostory* could result from him, and therefore the fame of it was the more remarkable.

The *Jesuits* (that are the best *Physicians* in such *Distempers*) hearing of it, visited the Boy, prayed by him, and used such other Charms and Exorcisms, as are fit to make them to be admired; giving his Parents good hope of dispossessing him of that *foul Spirit*, by which might palpably be discerned, how much Gods power was exprest in their weakness, and difference the *truth*, and *holiness*, betwixt the *Catholick Religion*, and the *Heresie* professed among *Protestants*. So that they that heard them (as many resorted to the place) must needs take them for very *holy men*, by whom such Wonders were to be accomplished. The *Jesuits* visited him often, sometimes in private. sometimes in Company; but this kind of *spirit* would not be commanded by them, so that they grew almost desperate of the Cure.

The Boy in his fits would rave against an old woman dwelling near to his Father, intimating by signs, and ghastly behaviour, that she had sent a Spirit to torment him; and in plain terms (when he was out of his fits) accused her to be a *witch*, and the *Author* of all his *misery*. This old woman is sent to the *Bishops Chancellor* at *Lichfield* to be examined; the Boy is brought thither to confront her, and having his back towards her, at her coming into the Room, where the *Chancellor* was, before she yet entred or appeared, he falls into a most bitter *Agony*, crying out, *Now she comes, now my Tormentor comes!* wreathing and tearing himself in so horrid a manner, that it did not only breed amazement, but pity in the Spectators, there being many with expectation attending the issue: Which, with some other *probabilities*, were an inducement to the *Chancellor* to send the woman to *Stafford Goal*.

At the next *Affizes* for that County, the Boy and his Parents appear as Witnesses against the *witch*; the Boy was placed in a conspicuous part of the Court, with his face to the *Bench*, ey-

A. Reg. 15.

An. Christi  
1617.

The Boy of  
*Bilston*.

Accuses a Woman to be a  
Witch.



A. Reg. 15.

An. Christi

1617.

She is condemned.

Bishop Morton  
gets her Reprieve.

ing the Judg continually, in a very peaceable and quiet posture; and as the woman was coming in (when the Court thought it impossible the Boy should be sensible of her appearance) he fell into a more raging fit than ever he was possess'd with before: So stupendiously unnatural, that it was deemed by all that saw it, that nothing but a *Diabolical Spirit* could work such horrid effects. This, thus openly acted, and the Relation of what was done at *Lichfield*, and other *probabilities* evidencing, the old woman (that had no good Reputation among her Neighbours, being of a tetrical and froward temper, incident to old age) found few Friends to plead her Cause; so that being indicted for *witchcraft*, she was found guilty by the Jury, and Condemned to die.

Doctor Morton Bishop of that *Diocess*, a great Father of the *Anglicane Church* (and happily then on the *Bench* about *Secular Affairs*) hearing that some *Romish Priests* had been tampering with their Exorcisms, to the undeivilling of the boy, and finding little reason produced, why, or for what cause, the Witch should use the Child so ill, was perswaded, this might be some *juggling trick* in them, for effecting their *miraculous ends*. He therefore besought the Judg to reprieve the woman till the next *Affizes*, and he would take the Boy home with him, have him carefully and strictly looked to, and doubted not before that time to find out the bottom of some secret and hidden contrivance. The Judg assented to the Bishops request, and so the Boy was carried to *Eccleshal Castle*, the Bishops House, whither his fits followed him with a great deal of violence: For being put out of his road (having formerly all sorts of people come to admire him, and now being more carefully looked to) he grew *sullen*, and would not eat sometimes in two or three days, so that his belly was almost clung, and grown to his back, and he had a new swelling about his throat, which never appeared before; lay in his bed, sometimes as it were senseless, sometimes staring with his eyes, and foaming at the mouth, sometimes striking those that stood near him (his own careful mother being one, whom he made all black about the arms and breasts) never spoke but in his fits, and then a strange gibbrish, at other times he only muttered, and made signs. The Bishop visited him often, striving sometimes to soften him with gentleness, at other times he handled him roughly, with objurgations, and threatnings; but his ill Spirit is capable of neither. He spoke to him one time some of the *Greek Testament*, to see how that would work, and it brought him into his fit. At another time, he uttered some Verses out of the *Greek Poets*, which his Devil was not so learned as to distinguish, for that put him into a fit again; so that the Bishop was confirmed, that he was an Impostor of a most pernicious, and pertinacious Spirit; but how



to Conjure it out of him was the difficulty. And finding words and menaces made no impression in him, he fell to blows; for taking him out of his bed, and having one to hold him, the Bishop gave him six very smart lasses with a Rod, which moved the boy no more than if he had been an insensible stock. They also thrust needles into his toes and fingers, betwixt the nails, clapt burning candles to his eye-lids, till they singed the hair off, to divert him when he was in his fits; but with all their persecutions he neither winch'd nor stirred, so that the Actions were more troubled to execute than he to suffer.

And in this condition growing almost desperate, he would make signs for knives or any other instrument to do himself a mischief, therefore strict care was taken, and many watchful eyes set over him to prevent any such danger. Thus he continued almost a quarter of a year, at last his Urine grew so black, that the Physicians thought Nature had left her usual operations, having never found in any human body so much Adust matter, to give so deep and deadly a tincture.

This struck the good Bishop very near: For he was certain the Priests had been hammering about him, and now, if he should miscarry under his hand, those Mint-masters of mischief would in their dark shops coin such scandals against him, as might pass current in the Worlds opinion; therefore he used all the means he could possible, as well to preserve him, as to discover him: But finding the boy indure so many Trials with patience, so much tough hardship, and robustness, in tender years, he resolved if his water continued black, to sift the matter no further. To find out which he set a trusty servant to watch him through a hole that looked into the Chamber upon the Bed, which the boy knew not of. The Bishop going that morning with his Family to a Lecture, all things were very still in the house, and the boy finding all quiet, no noise about him, he lifts himself up, stares, and listens, and at length gets out of his bed, and in the straw or mat under it, takes out an Ink-horn, and makes water in the Chamber-pot through a piece of the Cotton, in his hand; another little piece of the Cotton he puts into his Prepuce, covering it with the skin, and that was for a Reserve, if he should be forced to make water when company is by. Thus having cunningly put himself in order, he hides the Ink-horn again, and returns to his bed.

The man that was appointed to watch him seeing all this, discovered it to the Bishop at his coming home, who came to him presently, and askt him how he did? He according to his usual manner pointed to his water, looked ghastly on it, and mutter'd out his old howling tone. The Bishop that meant now to deal roundly with him, said, Sirrah, you have Ink in your bed-straw, which you make use of to black your water, and your knavery

A. Reg. 15.

An. Christi

1617.

The Bishop troubled for the Boy.

The Impostor discovered.



A. Reg. 15.

An. Christi  
1617.

His Confession.

knavery is found out; and calling in his man, he took out the Ink-horn where the Boy had hid it, and the man justified, that he saw him make water through the *Cotton*. Which (with the Bishops threatening to send him to the *house of Correction*) struck the Boy with such a sudden terror, that he rose from his Bed, fell upon his knees, and humbly besought the Bishop to pardon him, and he would discover to him the whole Truth. And as he put on his *cloaths*, the Bishop laid open the grievousness of his *sin*, which wrought so upon his *spirit*, that he melted into tears, crying to God for *mercy*. *A very strange alteration!* That, what he did but counterfeit, the *Devil* had so hardned in him, that all the Torments and Pains, inflicted by man could not produce a tear, till God that melted the *Rock*, had first touched the *heart*.

Then he confest a Pedler with a pack on his back met him when he was going to *School*, and with many inticing words perswaded him to go to Mr. *Giffords* house, assuring him of good entertainment, and by his *allurements* he went thither with him. There he found four *Romish Priests*, who gave him mony and many fair words, promising him great *matters*, if he would be conformable to their instructions. They were three days teaching him how to demean himself, and after he was well tutor'd, and had practised his *tricks* there privately, then they sent him home to his *father* (who thought he had been lost, and was much troubled for him) to exercise them in a more publick way. He came home in a very distracted manner, to the amazement of his *parents*, and in short time drew much company to visit him, and his *parents* being poor got money from many *charitable people*, which did encourage him to persist in that way. But when the *fame* of his being *possessed* with an evil *spirit* was sufficiently *bruited abroad*, the *Priests* came to dispossess him, but he found so much sweetness in the *case*, and profit of that life, that he would not be disenchanted by them, though they charmed never so cruelly; for they beat him, and pincht him, and used him bitterly ill, to make him desist. *Thus were the deceivers deceived!* The Bishop askt him why he accused the poor old woman of *Witchcraft*? He answered, the *Priests* told him he must lay the cause of his being *possessed* upon some old woman, and she being known to him, and of a *scolding humour*, he fixt it on her. Then the Bishop askt him how he came to fall into his *fits* a little before the woman appeared in the room, both at her *Examination* and *Arraignment*, his back being towards her? for the first, at *Lichfield*, he said, he heard some about him mutter. *She is here*, which made him cry out, *she comes, she comes*: And for the second, at *Stafford*, he heard the people remove, and her *chains* gingle as she came, which gave him the *sign*. Lastly, he was asked how he made his throat swell,



## The History of Great Britain.

III

swell, and he shewed, it was by thrusting his tongue (being very long) down his throat, which trick he found out himself; the rest were taught him by the *Priests*. Thus did the Bishop preserve an innocent old woman condemned by the Law to die, discover the abominable *forgeries* of the *Priests*, and convert a wicked boy, whom afterwards he bound Apprentice, and proved a good man. This Story I heard from the Bishops own mouth, almost thirty years before it was inserted here. And the Result of all is, That *Falshood* with her *painted countenance* appears often as *beautiful* as *Truth* it self, deceiving many, specially in this point of *Witchcraft*, which is a *structure* established in the *vulgar fancy*, that hath many *odd passages* and *ways* opening to it, and is many *Airy-stories* high; but being well examined, it will not prove (for the most part, I will not say always) paper-proof, as there may be occasion to express in another place.

The King took delight by the *line* of his *Reason* to sound the depth of such *brutish Impostors*, and he discovered many: For in the beginning of his Reign, *Richard Haydock* of *New-Colledg* in *Oxford*, practised *Physick* in the day, and *Preached* in the night in his bed. His *Practice* came by his *Profession*, and his *Preaching* (as he pretended) by *Revelation*: For he would take a *Text* in his sleep, and deliver a good *Sermon* upon it, and though his *Auditory* were willing to silence him, by pulling, haling, and pinching, yet would he pertinaciously persist to the end, and sleep still. The *fame* of this sleeping *Preacher* flies abroad with a light *wing*, which coming to the Kings knowledg, he commanded him to the Court, where he sate up one night to hear him: And when the time came that the *Preacher* thought it was fit for him to be asleep, he began with a *Prayer*, then took a *Text* of *Scripture*, which he significantly enough insisted on a while, but after made an *excursion* against the *Pope*, the *Cross* in *Baptism*, and the last *Canons* of the *Church of England*, and so concluded sleeping. The King would not trouble him that night, letting him rest after his *labours*, but sent for him the next morning, and in private handled him so like a cunning *Chirurgion*, that he found out the *sores*; making him confess not only his *sin* and *error* in the *act*, but the *cause* that urged him to it, which was, That he apprehended himself as a buried man in the *University*, being of a *low condition*, and if something *eminent* and *remarkable* did not spring from him, to give life to his *Reputation*, he should never appear any body, which made him attempt this *Novelty* to be taken notice of. The King finding him ingenuous in his *Confession*, pardoned him, and (after his *Recantation* publicly) gave him preferment in the *Church*. Some others, both men and women, inspired with such *Enthusiasms*, and *fanatick fancies*, he reduced to their right *senses*, applying his *Remedies* suitable to the *Distemper*.

A. Reg. 15.

An. Christi

1617.

The King discovers many Impostors.



A. Reg. 15.

An. Christi  
1617.Sir Walter  
Rawleighs  
West-Indian  
Voyage.

per, wherein he made himself often very merry (being happily practised, to be taken notice of by him) but some of their Stories being a little *coarse*, are not so fit to be here related. And truly the looseness and carelessness of *publick Justice*, sets open a door to such *flagitious* and *nefarious actions*, as *severer times* would never have perpetrated.

About this time, that gallant Spirit, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, (who in his *Recesses* in the Tower, had presented in lively *Characters*, the true Image of the *Old World*) made Accesses to the King, whereby he got leave to visit the *New-world* in *America*. Captain *Kemish* (one of his old Seamen and Servants) shewing him a piece of *Ore* in the Tower, of a golden complexion, (a glittering temptation to begin the work) assuring him, he could bring him to a *Mine* in *Guiana* of the same metal: which (together with *Freedom*, the *Crown of Life and Being*) gave rise to this enterprize.

The King looking on *Rawleigh* as a man whose *abilities* might better the *Nation*, if improved the right way, gave him *Liberty*, and a Commission under the great Seal, to equip and set forth Ships, and Men for that service. His *Reputation*, and *merit*, brought many Gentlemen of Quality to venture their Estates, and Persons, upon the *Design*; and being gallantly furnished with all things necessary, either for *Peace* or *War*, they set out; and met no difficulties, till they came to *Cape Vert* in *Africa*; and then they found the Winds averse to them, (contrary to the usual nature of it) with many violent Storms, which much impeded their *Voyage*: For they that usually *navigate* betwixt *Cape Vert*, and *America*, run it in less than twenty days, but it took them double the time. And being driven from the Isle of *Bravo* by a Tempest, their left they Cables, Anchors, and Water-Cask behind them; so that by the length of the *Time*, heat of the *Climate*, and their want of *Water*, great sickness fell among them, and swept away many of their ablest men, both for Sea and Land.

But with much *patience* and *hardship*, getting sight of the Coast of *Guiana*, they came to an *Anchor* in five Degrees, at the River *Caliana*, where they landed their sick men, set up *Barges*, and *shallops*, which were brought out of *England* in *Quarters*, washed their Ships, and took in fresh Water, being fed and assisted by the *Indians*, that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* had formerly known. Who (in this general contagion, having grappled long with sickness, and not yet able to move, otherwise than he was carried in a Chair) gave order to five small Ships to sail into the River *Orenoque* (having Captain *Kemish* for their Conductor) towards the *Mine*, the *Star* that directed them thither. And in these five Ships were five Foot-Companies; under the Command of Captain *Parker*, and Captain *North*, Brothers to the



the Lord *Monteagle*, and the Lord *North*; Captain *Walter Raleigh*, the General's eldest Son; Captain *Thornhurst*, and Captain *Chidley*, Gentlemen of great Valour, and infinite Patience, in suffering hunger, heat and labour. Major *Pigot* died in the miserable Passage, and Sir *Warham Santleger* (who was Lieutenant Colonel) lay sick, without hope of life; so that the Command of the five Companies being conferred upon *George Raleigh*, the General's Nephew (made Major, in *Pigot*'s room) he was not so well obeyed, as the Enterprize required. As they past up the River, the *Spaniards* began the War, and shot at the Ships, both with their Ordnance, and Musket: but they landed their Forces, without any great loss, near unto a Town upon the River, called *Saint Thome*, and gallantly charged the Enemy to the very Ports; where finding some little opposition, they at last forced a passage, and made themselves Masters of the Town. In the Assault, Captain *Walter Raleigh*, the General's Son (a Man of fire and courage, fitter to execute, than to order his Valour) was slain, to the great grief of the Conquerours.

The other five Ships staid with the General at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable of them near *Guiana*. The first was commanded by the General himself; the second by Captain *John Pennington*, Vice-Admiral; the third by Sir *Warham Santleger*; the fourth by Sir *John Fern*; the fifth by Captain *Chidley* of *Devonshire*. The General had twelve Ships in all, set out with him; But Captain *Whitney* and Captain *Wolleston* mutined against him, and run home again from the *Granadoes*. With these five Ships they daily attended the *Armada* of *Spain*, and had they set upon them, their Force divided (one half being in *Orinoque*, a hundred and fifty miles from them) they in *Trinidado* had not only been indangered, but all those in the River had also perished. And though these five Ships with the General were but of little Defence against so strong a power as the King of *Spain*'s Gallions, yet they would have given them their hands full, for they were all resolved to have burned, and died by their sides. But the *Armada* staid for them at *Margarita*, by which Island they expected them to pass towards the *Indies*.

For the King, unwilling to displease his Brother of *Spain*, commanded Sir *Walter Raleigh* upon his Allegiance, before he went out, to set down under his hand, the Country, and the River, which he was to enter, the compleat number of his Men, the burthen of his Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carried, which being made known to the Count *Gondemar*, the *Spanish* Ambassador here, and by him in Post to the King of *Spain*, A Dispatch was made by that King to the *Indies*, and his Letters sent from *Madrid*, before Sir *Walter Raleigh* with his

An. Reg. 15.

An. Christi

1617.

The Design discovered to Gondemar.



An. Reg. 15.

An. Christi.

1617.



Fleet departed out of the River *Thames*. For the first Letter sent by a Bark of Advice, was dated the 19th of *March*, 1617. at *Madrid*. The second Letter was sent by a *Carvell* to *Diego de Palomeque*, at *Trinidado*. The third Letter by the Bishop of *Puerto Rico*, and the fourth was sent by the Farmer and Secretary of the *Customs*, at the same time. By that of the King's hand there was also a Commission, for the speedy leavying of three thousand men, and ten pieces of Ordnance, to be sent from *Puerto Rico*, for the defence of *Guiana*. These Provisions were made to entertain the *English*, and had they met them, they would have found a harsh Banquet.

But the *Spaniards* at *Saint Thome* (their Supplies being not come) were not so numerous as to defend both the Town, and the Passages to the Mines; therefore they quitted the Town, and fortified the way to the Mines near the Town. But the Passages leading to the Mine that *Kemish* had in his Eye, were *Aspera & fragosa*, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* exprest them; and *Kemish* found the River so low, that he could not approach the banks, in most places near the Mine, by a mile, and where he found an ascent, a Volley of Musquets came from the Woods, and at one time slew two of the Rowers, hurt six others, and shot a valiant Gentleman, Captain *Thornhurst*, in the head, of which he with great difficulty recovered. *Kemish* seeing so much hazard in attempting to find the Mine, the Passage to it being full of thick and impassable Woods, and thinking the *English* that were left in the Town of *Saint Thome*, would not be able to defend it, especially if the Enemy should be recruited, the Country being all in Alarum, he gave over the Enterprise, and returned. For if he should have discovered the Mine, he had no men (as he pretended) to work in it; and being a great way up into the Land, men would have been got thither with much danger, and difficulty. And that was true. The *Spaniards* themselves complain for want of *Negroes* to work in their Mines; for the *Indians* cannot be constrained, by a Law of *Charles* the Fifth, and the *Spaniards* will not, neither can they endure the labour. But this was ill advised, to take so much pains, and run so much hazard, to get and possess that, which when they had it, they could not make use of it; so that which *Kemish* pleaded (when he returned) for an excuse, reflected upon him as a great miscarriage. As soon as he came to *Saint Thome*, the *English* pillaged the Town, carried away the best, and most portable things, and the Enemy not daring to appear for the Redemption of it, they set it a fire, leaving behind them an infinite masse of Treasure, which either for want of knowledge, or power, they could not attain to. For there were two Gold Mines near the Town, the one possessed by *Roderigo de Parama*, the other by *Herman Frontino*, and a Silver Mine by *Francisco*



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*Francisco Fasbardo*: to preserve and fortifie which, they imployed all their *strength* and *industry*; so that they needed not have gone so far up the River to find a new *Mine*, when they had so many nearer them, that either *ignorance* or want of *strength* made them *neglect*.

The General, with the news of the death of his Son, and *Kemishe's* return without effecting his work, was perplexed to the very soul, telling *Kemishe* he had undone him, and wounded his *credit* with the King, past recovery; but he must think (he told him) to bear the weight of the King's anger as well as himself; for he must avow that *Kemishe* knew the *Mine*, and that with little loss he might have possessed it. *Kemishe* much troubled in his mind, retires to his *Cabin*, which he had in the General's Ship, and presently after his being there, he shot himself with a *Pistol*; the General hearing the noise, askt what *Pistol* it was? Answer was made, that Captain *Kemishe* shot it off in his *Cabin* to cleanse it; but *Kemishe's* man going into the *Cabin*, found his Master lying in his own blood: the *Pistol* having a little bullet did only crack the *rib*, which being too slow for his *fury*, he desperately thrust a knife in after it up to the haft; and with him the *Glory* of the *Voyage* expired. For the *Design* being thus broken, the Ships leaky, Victuals failing, and missing of those golden showers they gaped after (that *Radical moisture* which fills the veins of the affections, and gives life and vigor to all actions), some of the men began to mutiny against the General, others were for him; some would have him go home, others would have him stay; the major part forced him to swear not to go home but by their allowance; and yet his Ships dwindled away one after another (his strength was best discovered by his weakness) ten Ships being reduced to four, and those would do what they list. Some would go for *Italy*, some for *France*, few for *England*, fearing the *Spanish Power* there more than they did in the *Indies*. Thus they were shattered in judgment, with a greater *Tempest* than the *Seas* or *Winds* could produce. *Miserable is that Government where the Multitude is Master*. At last he is brought to *Kinsale* in *Ireland*.

The news of taking and burning *St. Thome* coming to *Gondemar*, he besieges, and (as it were) assaults the King with importunity for *Reparation*: For he was a man not only of an insinuating and glosing spirit, but of a violent and fiery temper, when any cross accident blew up the humor. The matter is aggravated with the highest circumstances by those of the *Spanish Faction*, as if this irruption of *Raleigh's*, not only tended to the breach of the Treaty of Marriage betwixt Prince *Charles*, and the *Infanta* of *Spain* (that was then in motion) but to the infringement of the *Peace* and *Amity*, established betwixt the two Crowns. The King's fears being heightened to *Anger*, he dis-

An. Reg. 16.

An. Christi.  
1618.

Raleigh troubled.

Kemishe kills himself.

Gondemar incenses the King against Raleigh. 1618.



An. Reg. 16.

An. Christi.

1618.

He is committed to the Tower.

avows the *Action*, and lest others of his *Subjects* should by this *example* take the boldness to attempt the like *Hostility* against the King of *Spain*, he puts out a *Proclamation*, wherein he shews his detestation of such *proceedings*, and threatens severe *punishment* to the *enterprisers*, thereby to deter them. Which gave *Gondemar* some satisfaction; whose design being only to get Sir *Walter Raleigh* home (after this brush) vented little *passion*, but so cunningly skinned over his *malice*, that when *Raleigh* was in *Ireland*, he found, nor heard of no such great difficulties (*Dangers often flying upon the wings of rumor*) but that he might appear in *England*, and the men not willing to be banished their own Country (though some of them had *France* in their eye) put in at *Plimouth*. *Raleigh* was no sooner ashore, but he had private intimation, which gave him cause to suspect, the smoothness of this beginning would have a rough end; therefore he attempted an escape from thence in a bark of *Rochel*: But being apprehended by Sir *Lewis Stukly* (his Kinsman) who had private warrant and instructions to that purpose (so unnatural and servile is the *spirit*, when it hath an allay of *baseness*, there being many others fitter for that employment) he is brought to *London*, and recommitted to the Tower.

He was no sooner in the Tower, but all his *Transactions* in this business are put to the *Rack*, and tender'd by his *Adversaries*. They say he knew of no *Mine*, nor did *Kemish* know that the *Mine* he aimed at was *Gold*; but *Kemish* bringing him a piece of *Ore* into the Tower, he fob'd a piece of *Gold* into it in dissolving, making the poor man believe the *Ore* was right, that by these golden *degrees*, he might ascend to *Liberty*, promising the King to fetch it where never *Spaniard* had been. But when *Kemish* found by better experience he was couzen'd by *Raleigh*, he came back from the *Mine*: And *Raleigh* knowing that none but *Kemish* could accuse him, made him away. This *Vizard* was put upon the face of the *Action*, and all the weight of the *Miscarriage* was laid upon *Raleigh's* shoulders.

*Gondemar* that looked upon him as a man that had not only high *Abilities*, but *Animosity* enough to do his Master mischief (being one of those *Scourges*, which that old *Virago*, (the late Queen) as he called her, used to afflict the *Spaniards* with) having gotten him into this Trap, laid now his baits about the King. There is a strange virtue in this spirit of *Sol*! the *intense-ness* makes men firm, the *audilness* brings them to be active. *French Crowns* are not so pure, nor so piercing as *Spanish Pistols*. *Auri sacra fames! quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* The King that loved his *Peace*, is incensed by them that loved their *Profit*, and the poor Gentleman must lay down the price of his life upon the old *Reckoning*.

In *October* this year he is brought to the King's-bench Bar at *Westminster*



*Westminster*, where the Records of his Arraignment at *Winchester* were opened, and he demanded why *Execution* should not be done upon him, according to the *Judgment* therein pronounced against him? To which in way of answer he began to justify himself in the proceedings of the late *Voyage*; but the Lord Chief Justice wished him to spare that trouble; for there was no other *matter* in question but the former *Judgment*, which the King would have executed upon him, for some occasions best known to himself, unless he could shew good cause to the contrary.

*Raleigh* answered, That he was told by his Council, that *Judgment* was void, by the Commission his Majesty was pleased to give him since under the Great Seal for his last Employment, which did give him a new *vigour* and *life* to that *service*. The Lord chief Justice replied that he was deceived, and that the *opinion* of the *Court* was to the contrary. Then he desired that some reasonable time might be allowed him to prepare for *Death*, but it was answered, That the time appointed was the next *morning*, and it was not to be doubted, but he had prepared himself for *death* long since. *Raleigh* having a *courageous spirit* (finding the bent of the King's mind, and knowing *Disputes* to be in vain, where *Controversies* are determined) *acquiesc'd*, was conveyed to the *Gatehouse*, and the day following was brought to the *Old Palace yard* at *Westminster*, and upon a Scaffold there erected, lost his head.

He had in the *outward man* a good *presence*, in a handsom and well-compacted *person*, a strong natural *wit*, and a better *judgment*, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set off his *parts* to the best advantage. And to these he had the *Adjuncts* of general *Learning*, which (by *Diligence* and *Experience* (those two great *Tutors*) being now threelcore years of age) was augmented to a great *perfection*, being an indefatigable *Reader*, and having a very retentive *memory*. At his Arraignment at *Winchester*, his carriage to his Judges was with great *discretion*; humble, yet not prostrate; dutiful, yet not dejected: Towards the *Jury* affable, but not fawning; not in despair, nor believing, but hoping in them; carefully perswading them with *Reasons*, not distemperately importuning them with *Conjurations*; rather shewing love of *life* than fear of *death*. Towards the King's Council patient, but not insensibly neglecting, nor yielding to Imputations laid against him in words (which Sir *Edward Cook*, then the King's *Attorney*, belched out freely) and it was wondred a man of his high *spirit* could be so humble in suffering, not being much overtaken in passion. And now at his last, when *Death* was presented before him, he looked upon it without affrightment, striving to *vindicate* his *Actions*, by taking off the *veil* that *false Reports* had cast upon them (especially the

*Imputation*

An. Reg. 16.

An. Christi.

1618.

And Beheaded.

His character, and description.



An. Reg. 16.

An. Christi.

1618.

Disunion in  
the United  
Provinces.

Imputation of his glorying, and rejoycing in the fall, & at the death of the late E. of *Essex*, w<sup>ch</sup> had stuck so many years in his breast; & this new misfortune of *Kemish* (of a later date imputed to him) for having provided himself privately for heaven, clearing his Accounts with God before he came to the Scaffold, He publickly at last reckon'd with man (being to quit all scores) and so made an end.

Times of Peace are accounted the happiest times, and though they are great Blessings, proceeding from the influence of *supreme Mercy*, and the showers of *Grace*, yet the branches of the Tree of Knowledge (growing by this Sun shine) for want of due pruning, do often become so exuberant, that their very fruits are not only their burthen, but sometimes their ruin. Prosperity is of an Airy constitution, carried about with the breath of strange fancies, which mount sometimes as high as Omnipotency, but there finding resistance, they come down amain, and beat the lower Region with a Tempest of Strife and Malice. When the Romans wanted Enemies, they digged them out of their own bowels. Active Spirits will be let on work.

Our Neighbours of the Netherlands (that had so long bounded the Spanish Power, & humbled their Pride so far, as to acknowledg them a Free-State, before they would so much as listen to an Overture of Peace) had a fire kindled in their own bowels. It is now some time since the 12 years Truce betwixt Spain & them began, being in the Wain & last Quarter. While they had their hands full of business, they had not their heads full of old Curiosities. Now like Plethorick bodies, that want letting blood, they break out into distemper. A Schism in the Church, and a Faction in the State.

The first Author of the Schism was *Arminius*, of the Faction, *Barneveldt*, Persons of great parts and power (though of different natures). The one had been Divinity-Professor at *Leyden* the other the Manager of all the great Affairs of the State. Distempers in Kingdoms and States, are like madness in bodies, which doth not break out till some accident doth stir the humor. *Arminius* dyed just upon the beginning of the Treaty, which was in the year 1609. Leaving behind him the seeds of this *Pelagian Heresie*, which though it were cherished much by some, in whose bowels he had sown it, yet happily it might never have taken root, had not Peace and Ease manured it, and made it fruitful. The Mysteries of Predestination, and the ineffable Essence of God (*Quæ tremenda & admiranda sunt, sed non scrutanda*) (to use our King's own words) which are to be trembled at, and admired, not pried into) are the great Theme. Such intuitions are too high for flesh and blood. Yet what will not Pragmatical spirits do, when they proudly look into Divine things with the Eye of Reason, not humbly with the Eye of Faith.

This Rupture in the Bowels of the Church grew so great, that it indangered the Body of the State. The chief Rulers and Magistrates,



strates, in the several Provinces, being tainted with this Error, strove to establish it by Power; among whom Barnevelt was a Principal Agent, who by the assistance of Hoogenberts of Leyden, Grotius of Rotterdam, and Leidenburgh Secretary of Utrecht, with others their adherents, drew on the Design, which was to suppress the Protestant Reformed Religion, and establish the Tenents of Arminius, being fomented by the Kings of France and Spain, as the immediate way to introduce Popery. This went on so smoothly, that the Orthodox Ministers were expelled out of their principal Towns, and none but Arminians admitted to preach to the people, which in some places bred many combustions, that tended to nothing but popular Confusion.

But long before this time, our King saw the Storm coming upon them: For in the year 1611 he forewarns the State, telling them, that by the unhappy succession of two such Prodigies in one Sphere, as Arminius and Vorstius, some dreadful mischief would succeed. For Arminius was no sooner dead, but those that drew on the Design, had an eye on Vorstius his Disciple, to make him Divinity-Professor in his place, which the King hearing of, and having read some of Vorstius blasphemous Writings, sends to his then Ambassador Sir Ralph Winwood, Resident there, to let the State know that Vorstius rather deserved punishment than promotion; that the head of such a Viper should be trod upon, and crushed, that was likely to eat his way through the bowels of the State. And if they (nevertheless) would persist to prefer him, he would make known to the World publickly in Print, how much he detested such abominable Heresies, and all followers and tolerators of them.

The Ambassador urging the King's desires, they returned a long Answer in justification of Vorstius.

"First, That the Curators of the University of Leyden (according to their duty, and the ancient custom ever since the foundation of that University) having diligently made inquiry for some Doctor to be chosen in the place of Divinity-Professor there, at that time void, after mature deliberation, they made election of Conradus Vorstius to that place. Which Election and Calling, was countermined presently after, by certain persons, to whose Office or Disposal, the business did nothing at all belong; who charged the said Vorstius with unsoundness of Doctrine; whereupon the Curators thought fit (with the good liking of Vorstius himself) that both at Leyden, and at the Hague, he should appear in his own justification, to answer all Accusers; which he did, and there came none to charge him. But not long after, six Ministers undertook to prove, That Vorstius had published false Doctrine, who being heard in a full Assembly of the States of Holland and Westfrizeland, they could by their Arguments find no reason, why the Execution of what  
"was

An. Reg. 16.

An. Christi.  
1618.

Our King forewarns them of it An. 1611.

The States answer.



An. Reg. 161

An. Christi.

1618.

Vorstinus's Books  
burned by the  
King.

“was done by the *Curators* lawfully, ought to be hindred or  
 “impeached. And they do assuredly believe, that if his Maje-  
 “sty of *Great Britain* were well informed of the true Cir-  
 “cumstances of this business, he would, according to his *high*  
 “wisdom, and *prudence*, conceive favourably of them, they  
 “proceeding in this business with all reverence, care and re-  
 “spect, to his Majesty's serious admonition. Dated at the Hague  
 “1 Octob. 1611.

The King seeing which way the *States* went, by the print  
 of the footing that *Vorstius* had set among them, caused his  
 Books publickly to be burned in *Paul's Church-yard*, and  
 both the *Universities*. And not giving it over, writes to them  
 again, to be mindful of the *glory of God*, and not suffer such *scan-*  
*dalous members* to remain in the body of the true *Reformed Church*,  
 that maintain such execrable *Blasphemies*, as to deny the *Eternity*  
 and *Omnipotency of God*: Therefore he desires them so much to  
 mind the *glory of God*, and their own *honour*, and *safety*, as  
 to extirpate such *Atheisms*, and *Heresies*. But if they suffer  
 such *pestilent Hereticks* to nestle among them (who dare take  
 upon them the licentious *liberty* to fetch again from *Hell* ancient  
*Hereses* long since condemned, and invent new ones of their  
 own, to the depravation of the true *Catholick Church*) he should  
 be constrained publickly to protest against them. Dated at  
 Theobalds 6 Octob. 1611.

Sir *Ralph Winwood* represented this Letter to the *States*, and  
 finding them cold and backward in proceeding any further a-  
 gainst *Vorstius*, according to the King's *Directions* to him, he  
 made this *Remonstrance* to them.

My Lords,

Sir Ralph win-  
wood's Remon-  
strance to the  
States.

“IF ever the King of *Great Britain*, my Master, hath merit-  
 “ed any thing of this *State*, (and how much he hath me-  
 “rited, in respect of his great favours, and *Royal assistances*,  
 “your Lordships acknowledging them with all *gratitude*, can  
 “best judge and witness) he hath surely merited at this pre-  
 “sent, having by his Letters full of *zeal* and *piety*, which he  
 “hath written unto you, endeavoured to procure the esta-  
 “blishment of that Religion only within your *Provinces*,  
 “which the *Reformed Churches* of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ger-*  
 “many, by a mutual consent have generally imbraced. For  
 “what is it to his Majesty whether Doctor *Vorstius* be admit-  
 “ted Professor in the *University of Leyden*, or not? or whether  
 “the *Doctrine of Arminius* be preached in your Churches? sa-  
 “ving that as a *Christian Prince*, he desires the advancement of  
 “the *Gospel*, and as your best Friend and Allie, the strength-  
 “ning of your *Commonwealth*, whose first Foundations were ce-  
 “mented with the blood of his Subjects; and which in his judg-  
 “ment



ment can no way subsist, if wittingly and willingly you suffer the *Reformed Religion* to be (either by the practices of your *Doctors* sophisticated, or by their *malice*) depraved. If therefore *Religion* be as it were the *Palladium* of your *Commonwealth*, and that to preserve the one in her *glory*, and *perfection*, be to maintain the other in her *purity*, let your selves then be Judges, in how great a danger the State must needs be at this present, so long as you permit the Schisms of *Arminius* to have such *vogue* (as now they have) in the *principal Towns* of *Holland*; and if you suffer *Vorstius* to be received *Divinity-Professor* in the *University* of *Leyden* (the *Seminary* of your *Church*) who in scorn of the holy Word of God, hath after his own *fancy*, devised a new *Set*, patched together of several Pieces of all sorts of antient and modern Heresies. The Fool said in his heart, there is no God: But he that with an open mouth, of set purpose, and premeditated malice, hath let his *Pen* run at random, to disgorge so many *blasphemies* against the sacred Majesty of God, this Fellow shall wear the Garland of all that ever yet were heard of, since the Means of the Gospel, the Light of Christian Religion, hath shined unto the World. If any man doubt of it, for a proof see here what his Majesty, with his own hand, hath collected out of his Writings. And then presenting them a Paper, he proceeded.

An. Reg. 16.

An. Christi.  
1618.

These are, in part, the *opinions* of that great *Divine*, who is chosen to domineer in the Chair at *Leyden*: In opposition whereunto, I mean not to say any thing, but that which the *Roman Orator* did once pronounce in the like Case, *Mala est, & impia consuetudo, contra Deum disputandi, sive serio id fit, sive simulatè*; It is an evil and wicked Custom to dispute against God, whether it be in earnest, or in jest.

Now my Lords, I address my self unto you, and according to the Charge which I have received from the King my Master, I conjure you by the *amity* that is betwixt his Kingdoms, and your Provinces, to awaken your Spirits, and to have a *careful eye* at this Assembly of *Holland* (which is already begun) *ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat*, that the Commonwealth take no harm; which undoubtedly at one time or other will be turned upside down, if you suffer such a dangerous Contagion to harbour so near you, and not remove it as soon as possibly you may. The Disciples of *Socinus* (with whose Doctrine *Vorstius* hath been suckled in his Childhood) do seek him for their Master, and are ready to embrace him. Let him go, he is a Bird of their own feather; *Et dignum sanè patellâ operculum*, A fit Cover for such a Dish.

On the other side, the Students in Divinity at *Leyden*, to

R

the



An. Reg. 16.

An. Christi.  
1618.

“the number of six and fifty, by a dutiful *Remonstrance* presented unto the States of *Holland* the sixteenth of *October*, the last year, being 1610. did most humbly beseech the said States, not to use their authority in compelling them to receive a *Professor*, who both by the attestations of the Divinity-Colleges at *Basil*, and *Heydelberg*, as also by manifest evidence out of his own Writings, is convinced of a number of manifest Heresies.

“These *Reasons* therefore, namely, the many enormous and horrible Heresies maintained by him; the Instance of his Majesty, grounded upon the welfare and honour of this Country; the Requests either of all, or of the most part of your *Provinces*; the Petitions of all the *Ministers* (excepting those only which are of *Arminius's* Sect) should methinks prevail so far with my Lords the States of *Holland*, as they will at the last apply themselves to the performance of that, which both the *sincerity* of *Religion*, and the *service* of their Country, requireth at their hands.

“Furthermore, I have Commandment from his Majesty, to move you in his name, to set down some certain *Reglement* in matters of *Religion*, throughout your *Provinces*, that this licentious Freedom of Disputation may be restrained, which breeds *factions*, and *part-takings*; and that you would absolutely take away the Liberty of *Prophefying*, which *Vorstius* doth so much recommend unto you in the Dedicatory Epistle of his *Anti-Bellarmino*, the book whereof his Patrons do boast so much.

“And his Majesty doth exhort you, seeing you have heretofore taken Arms for the Liberty of your Consciences, and have endured a violent and bloody War the space of forty years, for the Profession of the Gospel, that now having gotten the upper hand of your *miseries*, you would not suffer the Followers of *Arminius* to make your *actions* an example for them to proclaim throughout the World that wicked Doctrine of the *Apostacy* of the *Saints*. The account which his Majesty doth make of your *amity*, appears sufficiently by the Treaties which he made with your *Lordships*, by the *succours* which your *Provinces* have received from his *Crowns*, by the deluge of *blood*, which his *Subjects* have spent in your Wars. *Religion is the only solder of this Amity*. For his Majesty being by the grace of God *Defender of the Faith*, doth hold himself obliged to defend all those who profess the same *Faith* and *Religion* with him: But if once your *zeal* begins to grow cold therein, his Majesty will then straightways imagin, that your *friendship* towards him, and his *Subjects*, will likewise freeze by little and little.

This



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This was the effect of Sir *Ralph Winwood's* Remonstrance, to which, after six weeks delay, he received this cold and ambiguous Answer.

*An. Reg. 16.*

*An. Christi.*  
1618.

The States answer.

“**T**hat the *States General* had deliberated upon his Majesty's Proposition, and Letter dated the 6 Oct. 1611. and do give him humble Thanks for the continuance of his *Royal affection* towards the welfare of their Country, and preservation of *Religion*. And that they had entred into Consultation concerning the *Articles* charged against *Vorstius*; and the *Curators* of *Leyden* did thereupon make an Order provisional, that *Vorstius* should not be admitted to the Exercise of his *Place*, but remain in *Leyden* only as an Inhabitant, and Citizen. And in case *Vorstius* should not be able to clear himself from those Accusations which were laid to his Charge, at or before the next *Assembly* (which was to be holden in *Feb.* following) that then they would decide the Matter with good contentment to his Majesty.

But this Answer still favouring of *delays*, could not in effect be esteemed less than an absolute refusal to yield to the King's desires; besides, the *specious Separation* of *Vorstius* as a Citizen, was only to satisfy the King at present; for he (after) notwithstanding exercised his Place of *Professor*. Whereupon Sir *Ralph Winwood* knowing the King's mind, made this Protestation in their *Publick Assembly*.

*My Lords,*

“**T**here is not any one of you, I suppose, in this *Assembly*, that will not acknowledge the *brotherly love* where- with the King, my Master, hath always affected the good of your *Provinces*, and the *fatherly care* which he hath ever had to procure the *establishment* of your State. In which respect, his Majesty having understood, that *Vorstius* was elected *Divinity-Professor* of *Leyden*, a Person attainted by many *Witnesses*, *Juris & facti*, of a number of *Heresies*, is therewith exceedingly offended. And for the timely prevention of an infinite of evils, did give me in charge to exhort you (which I did the 21 of *September* last) to wash your hands from that Man, and not suffer him to come within your Country. To this Exhortation your Answer was, *That all due observance and regard should be had unto his Majesty*: But his Majesty hath received so little respect herein, that instead of debar- ring *Vorstius* from coming into the Country (which even by the *Laws* of *Friendship* his Majesty might have required) the Proceedings have been clean contrary; for he is permitted to come to *Leyden*, hath been received there with all honour,

Sir *Ralph Win-*  
*wood's* Prote-  
station.



An. Reg. 16.

An. Christi.

1618.

“ taken up his habitation, treated and lodged in the *quality* of a  
 “ *publick Professor*. His Majesty perceiving his first motion had  
 “ so little prevailed, writ a Letter to you to the same purpose,  
 “ full of zeal and affection, persuading you by many *Reasons*,  
 “ not to stain your own *honor*, and the *honor* of the *Reformed*  
 “ *Churches*, by calling unto you that wretched and wicked *A-*  
 “ *theist*. These Letters were presented to this *Assembly*, the fifth of  
 “ *November* last, at which time by his Majesty's command I used  
 “ some speech my self to the same effect. Some six weeks after  
 “ I received an answer, but so confused, ambiguous, and imper-  
 “ tinent, that I have reason to conceive there is no meaning at  
 “ all to send *Vorstius* away, who is at present in *Leyden*, re-  
 “ ceived, acknowledged, respected, and treated as *publick Pro-*  
 “ *fessor*, whether it be to grace that *University* instead of the  
 “ deceased *Joseph Scaliger*; or whether to give him means to do  
 “ more mischief in *secret*, which perhaps for shame he durst  
 “ not in *publick*, I cannot tell. For these reasons, according to  
 “ that charge which I have received from the King my Master,  
 “ I do in his name, and on his behalf, *protest* in this *Assembly*,  
 “ against the wrong, injury, and scandal, done unto the *Refor-*  
 “ *med Religion*, by receiving, and retaining *Conradus Vorstius*  
 “ in the *University* of *Leyden*, and against the violence offered  
 “ unto that Alliance which is betwixt his Majesty and your *Pro-*  
 “ *vinces*; which being founded upon the *preservation*, and main-  
 “ tenance of the *Reformed Religion*, you have not omitted to  
 “ *violate*, in the proceeding of this cause. Of which enormous  
 “ *indignities* committed against the Church of God, and against  
 “ his Majesty's person, in preferring the *presence* of *Vorstius*, be-  
 “ fore his *amity* and *alliance*, the King my Master holds him-  
 “ self bound to be sensible, and if Reparation be not made, and  
 “ that *speedily* (which cannot be by any other means, than by  
 “ sending *Vorstius* away) his Majesty will make it appear unto  
 “ the World by some Declaration (which he will cause to be  
 “ printed and published) how much he detests the *Atheisms*,  
 “ and *Heresies* of *Vorstius*, and all those that maintain, favour, and  
 “ cherish them.

To this the States promised a better Answer at their next *Assembly*; but that producing no good effect, the King writes a *Declaration* against *Vorstius*; which is extant in his own *Works*, collected by Doctor *James Montague*, son to Sir *Edward Montague* of *Bowington* in the County of *Northampton*, Knight, then Bishop of *Winchester*, and Dean of his Majesty's Chappel; in which *Volume* is depainted the King's excellent *spirit*, and many *Royal Graces* tending to *Religion* and *Piety*.

Thus the States let in a *Deluge* of Impiety, by being so perti-  
 naciously affected to *Vorstius*, and though he lived not long a-  
 mong



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mong them, yet what he had planted grew up abundantly, and were the bitter *Roots* of these *present Divisions*.

And after, in the year 1613. there were many *Discords* among them, which our King hearing of, he incited the States by Letters again (so willing he was to have *Unity* among them) that this *War* of the *Tongue* might be pacified rather by publick *Authority* than *School Disputations*, and by his *Mediation*, for a good time the *Humor* was abated, or rested, as in the *interpolate Fits* of *Agues*, but the *Rancor* broke out again more than ever.

For this year 1618. (as formerly expressed) the *Distemper* came to the *State*, or *height*, and had ever after a *decline*. Our King hearing of the *Disorders* and *Tumults* among them, looked upon them (now) as so many ill *Omens*, portending not only the ruin of the *Netherlands*, but the *Tempest* growing greater might beat too soon upon the *British-shores*. To stay therefore the swelling progress of this *Gangrene humor*, he prohibits his Subjects by Proclamation to send their children to *Leyden*, and solicits the States by Letters again, not only to forbid the preaching of these *Controversies* (the *Pulpits* being made but the *Bellows* of *Dissention*) but commands his Ambassador Sir *Dudley Carleton* to shew them their *Disease*, and then prescribes them the *Cure*. Their *Disease* was this, *Schism* in the *Church*, which usher'd in a *Faction* in the *State*, jealousy and disaffection among the *Magistrates*, hatred, and heart-burning among the *Common people*, contempt of the *Orders* and *Decrees* of the chiefest Courts of *Justice*, distraction among the *Souldiers*, being tyed to several forms of *Oaths*, insurrections & commotions among the *Companies* new levied, not well disciplin'd (as likewise among the common people) which have extended to *blood*, to the affrightment, fear, and trouble of all the *Provinces*; at which the *Enemy* smiles (who happily have a hand in the *design*) and their friends lament to see it so. To cure which *Malady*, there is no other way than to call a *National Council*, where these *Waters* of *strife* being kept in due bound, the asperous edge of *Opinion* might be taken off, by grave and weighty *Reason*, to abate the *Passion* both in *Church* and *State*.

The *Remonstrants* (which the *Arminians* called themselves) carrying on their *Resolutions* with a full *sail*, would by no means alter their *course*, or consent to the calling of a *Council*, either fearing their party in *Council* would prove the weakest, or knowing their *partakers* in *Action* would be the strongest; for most of the States and Governours of *Provinces* had tasted of this *infected Cup*. And *Barnevelt* (the *Head* of them) being an active person, and having a nimble tongue, distilling into them a *Jealousie*, that *Maurice Prince of Orange* (who had the command of all their Garrisons, as General of their Army) affected to make

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An. Christi.

1618.

Our King writes to the States in 1613.

And now in 1618.

Barnevelt opposes the Pr. of Orange.



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An. Christi.

1618.



The Prince of  
Orange goes to  
utrecht.

25 July.

make himself (by his *power*) sole *Lord* and *Monarch* over them; that the *Freedom* which they had purchased with their *bloods*, was now ready to be trampled on; he that was their *Servant*, aspiring to become their *Master*; having all *power* both by Sea and Land, in his own hand, all Governments, and Offices at his *dispose*, so that he wanted nothing but the *Title* to make him absolute. These *sparks* took fire with many, and yet they could not well see by that *light*, because *Barneveldt* drew these pretences as a *Curtain*, to get as much *power* in the *Militia*, as he had in their *Councils*, the better to bring his *ends* about. Whereupon to ballance the Prince of *Orange's power*, new Companies are levied in some of the *Provinces* secretly, specially in *Utrecht*, meaning to make that the *Stage* to act their *bloody parts* on: Which Town being much corrupted with the *Leaven* of bad *Doctrine*, they soon closed with the corruption of as bad *manners*.

The Prince of *Orange*, and some others affected to him, did cut out their time to the length of the others endeavours, proportioning their *Prevention* suitable to the others *Action*, so the advance of the one party ran upon the same *Parallel* with the other, being ready to tread on their heels for *hast*. And now the time being *ripe*. The Prince goes to *Utrecht*, accompanied with some of the States his intimates, Count *Ernest* of *Nassau*, and some other Commanders of the Army, to seize upon, or disband those new raised Forces; in which he was opposed by *Leydenburgh* and other States of the Town, who incited the Governour, Sir *John Ogle*, our Countryman, to deny the Prince entrance; but he was too much a friend to the *honor* of his *Name* and *Nation*, to falsifie his trust. So that the Prince encountered only with those, whose unwillingness had *power* enough if they had had hearts to oppose him. But he finding it would be an ill *Precedent* to the rest of the Towns to meet a *Repulse* here, had ordered five hundred foot from *Arnhem* and the next Garrisons, to meet him there, who entered the Town that evening peaceably, and the next morning about four a clock disbanded the new levied Companies, before the Townsmen were well awake.

The Prince had no great reason to trust the Garrison of the City, considering the *Reformed Religion* was totally kept under *hatches*, & the *Arminian* got upon the deck. The Governour himself suspected, and complying to outward appearance, and the common Souldiers running with the *stream*. But he knew (it seems) their *temper* ascended to no higher *notions* than thirty *Stivers* a week was able to purchase. Therefore he summoned them all over night into the Market-place, without beat of *drum*, who, with the other five hundred, struck such a terror into the new levied Companies, that at the first word of *command* they



they laid down their *Arms* and submitted. They were in that City in all nine hundred men, that knew they were raised to oppose the Princes power, pickt up of several Nations, that hoped to carve their *fortunes* out of *bloody Tumults*, and backt by a numerous *multitude* of *Citizens*, yet they all thrunk in their heads before the face of *Authority*.

This giving some stop to the *carreir* of the *Remonstrants* in *Utrecht*, the rest of the Towns took up, though they had run long uncurbed. And now the Prince and State thought of nothing more than of composing the *Disorders* of the *Church*, by a *National Council*, which *Barnevelt* and his *Faction* opposing, they resolved to take away those *impediments* that hindered the *Peace* and *Tranquillity* of the *Provinces*. So that on the 19th of *August*, the prime Ring-leaders of the *Sedition*, *Barnevelt*, *Hogenberts*, and *Grotius*, were seised on at the *Hague*, as they were entering the *Senate*, and committed to several Prisons. This cast a general damp upon the *spirits* of the *Remonstrants*, as if they had been crushed in the head. And some few days after *Leydenburgh* was sent from *Utrecht* with a strong Guard. These being the four chief Pillars whereupon this confused building stood, they being taken away, it fell to the ground. *Leydenburgh* to prevent their *mercy* stabbed himself in Prison with a knife, that opened a passage to let out his life. *Hogenberts*, and *Grotius*, found something of mercy by waiting for it, but they were condemned to perpetual Imprisonment in the Castle of *Lovestien*. And the latter of them (*Grotius*) after some time of Imprisonment made an escape in a Trunk, which his Wife pretended to the Soldiers of the Castle, to be full of *Arminian Books*, which she would send away, because they should not trouble her Husband's head. But the *Capital Offender*, *Barnevelt*, was beheaded at the *Hague* the fourteenth of *May* following, being 1619.

His Sentence of death was this, That for so much he had endeavoured to disturb the Peace of the Land, and had opposed himself against the wholsom advice of divers Princes, Lords, and excellent Persons, aswel without as within the Land, and that he had injured some of their *mightiest Allies* by his secret practices (namely, by calumniating the King of Great Britain, as though he had been the Author of these troubles in the *Low-Countries*.) For that he had kindled the fire of Dissention in the *Provinces*; had raised Souldiers in the Diocess of *Utrecht*; had disreputed his *Excellency* as much as lay in his power; had revealed the secrets of the Council; and had received Presents and Gifts from Foreign Princes: Finally, for that by his *Machinations* and *Plots*, new States have been erected in the State, new Governments against the Government, and new Unions and Alliances against the ancient Union, to the general *perturbation*

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An. Christi.

1618.

Barnevelt's  
Sentence and  
death.



An. Reg. 16.

An. Christi.  
1618.His Employ-  
ments.A Synod at  
Dort.A blazing  
Star.

bation as well of *Policy*, as of *Religion*, to the exhausting of the *Treasures* of the Land, to the jealousy and dislike, not only of the *Confederates*, but of the *Natives* of the Country, who by this means were brought into danger, that they were like to fall into final *ruine*.

He was born in *Amersford*, descended from the Antient Family of *Olden Bernervelt*; in his Fortune a private Gentleman, but by his Industry, Travels, and Studies at home and abroad, he made himself capable of managing the highest affairs, which he did almost for forty years together. He was five times *Extraordinary Ambassador* into *England* and *France*; had been in the Field with the Princes of *Orange*, and the *Army*, as one of the States, thirty two several *Leaguers*; nothing was acted without his Advice: Indeed he was the *Tongue* and *Genius* of the *State*. But whether *Ambition* (now in his old Age) mounted him to grapple with the *Prince* for power, or whether that wild and frantick fancy, that men often brand their *Spirits* with, and call it *Conscience* (but is nothing but pertinacy in opinion) impt the wings of his Affections, we cannot discover, being only the secret Companions of his own Breast, and let them dye with him. But thus he ended, in the seventy first year of his Age.

He lived to see (that which he had so much opposed) a *National Synod* held at *Dort*, whither our King sent Doctor *George Carlton*, Bishop of *Landaff*; Doctor *Joseph Hall*, Dean of *Worcester*; Doctor *John Davenant*, Professor *Regius* in *Cambridge*, and Master of *Queens College*; and Doctor *Samuel Ward*, Regent of *Sidney College* in *Cambridge*; *Divines* of great Reputation, sound Learning, and well-grounded Faith. Where they met with divers *Divines* from *Switzerland* and *Germany*, besides the *Natives* of the *Netherlands*, who altogether in a full Synod, quashed, as much as in them lay, the *Arminian Opinions*; and though they could not utterly extirpate the roots of the *Herésie*, yet they laid them so low, that they never broke out there since into exuberant branches; though some of the *Fibra*, the small veins left behind, much tainted our Nation, as shall be expressed hereafter.

And now the *Heavens* declare the Glory of God; A mighty blazing Comet appears in *Libra*, whose bearded Beams covered the Virgin Sign; it began on *Wednesday* morning, the 18th of *November* this year, and vanished away on *Wednesday* the 16th of *December* following, making, in 28 days motion, its Circumgiration over most Parts of the known World, extending its radiant locks (by the observation of *Astronomers*) sometimes 45 Degrees in length. And as our Doctor *Bambridge* observed towards the Declination of it, about the 11th of *December*, it past over *London* in the morning, and so hasted more Northwards, even as far as the *Orcades*.

Nunquam



*Nunquam futilibus excaudit ignibus Æther,*

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An. Christi.

1618.

they make not their Course in Vain! These Apparitions do always portend some horrid Events here below, and are Messengers of mischief to poor Mortals: The Divine Wisdom pointing to us what we should do, to prevent these threatned dangers, that we may have our lives for a prey. It appears first in *Libra*, the Emblem of Justice, and streams over the Virgin *Astrea*, which (as the Poet saith) was last of all the Virtues left the Earth,

*Ultima Cælestium terras Astrea reliquit.*

We must by this Admonition from Heaven, learn to do justly; and it is for injustice that these sad Omens threaten us. What miserable Effects of War, Ruine, and Devastation, in most parts of the known World, followed at the heels of this stupendious Harbinger, is obvious to all, and so far as relates to us, may be declared (God willing) in the Progress of this History: but I hope the operation and power of it is almost at an end, for it began in Germany, took France and Spain in the way, and past over England to the Orcades, and so vanished, as Bainbridge relates in the Description of it, Fol. 7.

*Fulgura non semper, nec semper prælia durant.*

—let's count it almost past,

For War, like lightning, doth not always last.

The first remarkable Accident that happened in England after this Prodigious Forerunner, was the death of Queen Anne, who died of a Dropsie at Hampton-Court, and thence brought to her Palace in the Strand, for the more triumphant glory of her Obsequies. The Common People, who naturally admire their Princes, placing them in a Region above ordinary Mortals, thought this great Light in Heaven was sent as a Flambeau to her Funeral; their dark minds not discovering, while this Blaze was burning, the fire of War that broke out in Bohemia, wherein many thousands perished.

The death of Queen Anne.

She was in her great Condition a good Woman, not tempted from that height she stood on, to embroyl her spirit much with things below her (as some busy-bodies do) only giving her self content in her own House, with such Recreations as might not make Time tedious to her: And though great Persons Actions are often pried into, and made Envy's mark, yet nothing could be fixt upon her, that left any great impression, but that she may have engraven upon her Monument a Character of Virtue.

A short Character of the Queen.



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An. Christi.

1619.

Northumberland  
set at Liberty.

About this time *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been a Prisoner in the *Tower* ever since the *Powder plot* (a long Recluse) was set at liberty. The Cause of his Confinement was upon a Sentence in *Star-Chamber*, for nourishing in his House *Thomas Piercy* his Kinsman, who was one of the *Complotters* of the *Treason*. And though nothing could be proved against the Earl, to endanger his life, yet upon the presumption of his knowledge of it, he was fined in thirty thousand pounds, and imprisoned in the *Tower*. He was married to *Dorothy*, eldest Daughter to *Walter* Earl of *Essex*, by whom he had a Noble (yet surviving) Issue, two Sons, and two Daughters; *Algernon* now Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Henry*, both in these Times young. *Dorothy*, the eldest Daughter, married *Robert* Viscount *Liste*, after the death of his Father Earl of *Leicester*, by whom he had a numerous Issue, like *Olive branches* about his *Table*. The younger Daughter, *Lucy*, a Lady of incomparable *Beauty*, (solemnized in the *Poems* of the most exquisite *Wits* of her time) married the Lord *Hayes* (now made Viscount *Doncaster*) against her Father's will (who aimed at higher extractions) during his Imprisonment; which the old Earl's stubborn spirit not brooking, would never give her any thing; And *Doncaster*, whose affection was above money (setting only a valuation upon his much-admired *Bride*) strove to make himself meritorious, and prevailed so with the King for his Father-in-law, that he got his *Release*. But the old Earl would hardly be drawn to take a *Release* from his hand, so that when he had liberty he restrained himself; and with much importunity was wrought upon, by (such as knew the distempers of his body, might best qualifie those of his mind) persuading him, for some indisposition, to make a journey to the *Bath*, which was one special motive to accept of his Son-in-law's respects.

The various-  
ness of times.

The stout old Earl, when he was got loose, hearing that the great Favourite, *Buckingham*, was drawn about with a Coach and six Horses (which was wondered at then as a novelty, and imputed to him as a *mastring pride*) thought if *Buckingham* had six, he might very well have eight in his Coach, with which he rode through the City of *London* to the *Bath*, to the vulgar talk and admiration; and recovering his health there, he lived long after at *Petworth* in *Sussex*, bating this over-topping humour, which shewed it rather an affected fit, than a distemper. Nor did this addition of two Horses by *Buckingham* grow higher than a little *murmur*. For in the late *Queen's* time, there were no Coaches, and the first had but two Horses; the rest crept in by *Degrees*, as men at first venture to *Sea*. And every new thing the People dis-affect, they stumble at, sometimes at the action for the person, which rises like a little cloud, but soon vanishes. So after, when *Buckingham* came to be carried in a Chair



Chair upon Mens shoulders, the *clamour* and *noise* of it was so extravagant, that the People would rail on him in the Streets, loathing that Men should be brought to as servile a condition as Horses. So irksom is every little new impressi<sup>o</sup>n, that breaks an old *Custom*, and rubs and grates against the *publick humour* ! But when Time had made those Chairs common, every loose *Pimp*, or *Minion*, used them ; so that, that which gave at first so much *scandal*, was the means to convey those privately to such places, where they might give much more. Just like *long hair*, at one time decried as abominable, at another time approved of as *beautiful*. So various are the *fancies* of the *times* ! And that strong *Reason* is only able to manage this *Beast*, that can best curb its own *Appetite*.

But now War breaks in upon us, following that blazing Fore-runner ; the House of *Austria* ( like *Pyrrhus* and *Lyfander*, extending their *Dominions* no further than the *Sword* could reach ) having long feathered their *Nests* with the *Eagles* plumes, grew formidable to the Princes and States of *Germany*. And because they found the Popes had shrewdly plumed some of their Predecessors, till they had wrested most parts of *Italy* from the *Empire*, they were content to maintain their *Grandure* by the Popes power, and to ingratiate themselves the more, became great Persecutors of the *Reformed Religion*.

A little before this time *Ferdinand* (Uncles Son to *Matthias* the *Emperor*) was Crowned King of *Bohemia*, with this *Reservation*, that he should not exercise the Power of a *King*, as long as the old *Emperor* lived. This kind of Crowning of *Kings* (one in the life of another) was the great-Chain, that (link by link) held the *Empire*, and the two Kingdoms of *Hungaria* and *Bohemia* together in the *Austrian Family* ; so that the State of either Kingdom could not, or durst not, put forth their Strength to shake them asunder. The *Emperor* kept his Court at *Vienna*, King *Ferdinand* at *Gretz* in *Stiria* ; so that the Government of *Bohemia* rested in such Counsellors as the *Emperor Matthias* left there for the management of Publick Affairs. These Counsellors, and Ministers, with the Archbishop of *Prague*, broke out about this time, not only to demolish the *Protestant Churches*, but by the help of the *Jesuits* (their bitter Enemies) strove to undermine the *Religion* it self.

The Protestant States, and Nobles of the *Country*, summoning an Assembly, to redress their Grievances, were opposed by some of the *Emperor's* Ministers of *State*, the very day of their meeting ; which exasperated them to such a height of *Passion*, (being backt by some Forces they brought with them for their Security) that they threw *Slabata* the *Emperor's* chief Justice, *Smefansius*, one of the Council of *State*, and *Fabricius*, a pragmatical Secretary, from a high Window in the *Castle*, down

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An. Christi.

1619.

Stirs in Germany.

Anno 1617.



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An. Christi.

1619.

18 Aug.

Doncaster Am-  
bassador.

1619.

into the Court, though some of them took little hurt, and lived (as reports go) to this time. This rash Action the Bohemians strive to palliate by Apologies to the Emperor, but withal strengthened themselves, making Leavies both of Horse, and Foot, the better to secure their own Peace, and banishing those Firebrands the Jesuits out of Prague, whose malicious and distemper'd Zeal first kindled the Flame. The Emperor hearing of these mischiefs, raises an Army under the command of Count Bucquoy, and the Protestant States finding the Emperor exasperated, raise two Armies, one commanded by Count Thurne, the other by Count Mansfeldt: some bickrings past betwixt the Imperial Army and the Bohemians, some Towns taken on both sides, and in the heat of this stir the old Emperor dies.

Ferdinand King of Hungary, and Bohemia, and adopted heir of old Matthias, meeting (after summons) at Frankford, with the three Electors of Mentz, Collen, and Trevers, and only with the Representatives of the other three Electors, The Church carried it for him, and he was chosen King of the Romans. The States of Bohemia disclaimed the election, as invalid, because he could not be an Elector himself as King of Bohemia; for that he had never been actually in possession of the Crown. And though their dissent could not lessen Ferdinand's Election to the Empire, yet they protested by oath never to acknowledge him for their King. These eruptions made a noise all over Christendom, and most knowing men looked on this heavenly Torch, the late Comet, as fit fuel to give fire to such a train.

Our King fearing the clap would fall heavy upon the Protestant party, sent the Viscount Doncaster, extraordinary Ambassador, to mediate a Reconciliation betwixt the Emperor, and the Bohemians. But the asperity and bitterness was too great to find an allay by his sweet and candid Complements, being fitter for the bosoms of Lovers, than the armed breasts of Uprores and Tumults.

Ferdinand insinuated with the Princes of Germany, especially the Duke of Bavaria, to corroborate his party, the Bohemians made election of our King's Son-in-law, the Prince Elector Palatine, to be their King, hoping his great Alliance would strengthen theirs. Some little pauses were in the acceptation (though a liquorish bait) the Elector Palatine being fearful to ingage himself to snatch a Crown out of the fire: But the Bohemian States wrought the Prince of Anhalt, the Earl of Holoch, and the Baron Done, the Palatines intimates, in their forge (of great promises and preferments) to such a temper, that by their assistance (slighting the danger) he reacht at the Crown, before either he, or his friends were well advised of it. His Election was upon the 26 of August, his entrance into Prague the last of October, and his Coronation the fourth of November following. But as soon

as



as he had accepted, and swallowed the *Royal bait*, he sent the Baron *Done* to our King, to excuse the suddenness of the *acceptation*, before his *Counsels* were well concocted, but the emergency of the *Cause* (as he pretends) would admit of no *deliberation*. As some hasty *Physicians*, or *choleric Patients*, to prevent a *Feaver*, bring the body to a *Hætick*.

Our King that looked upon his own condition through the *Optique* of the peoples *mutable* and *unstable affection*, would by no means countenance such a *Precedent* as should give them power to dispose of an established *Royal dignity*, at their pleasure, and upon every change of *humor*, for so he might shake his own *foundation*, which made the Barons addressees crude and nauseous to his *Appetite*, till time had a little digested them. And then he dispatched two Ambassadors into *Bohemia*. One was Sir *Richard Weston*, who was afterwards Lord high Treasurer of *England*, and left to his posterity the Earldom of *Portland*, a man of a *haughty spirit*, yet knew how by *suppling* it, to make his way to the height he arrived at: For his *Religion* gave place to his *Policy*, and mounted him till he became one of the great *grievances* of the Kingdom. The other was Sir *Edward Convey*, a man of a *grosser temper*, bred a *Soldier*, being Governor of *Bril* when *England* gave over her interest in the *cautionary Towns*, who was after made a Viscount, and Secretary of State, a rough impolished peice for such an employment. But the King that wanted not his *Abilities* would often make himself merry with his imperfect *scrouls* in writing, and hacking *expressions* in reading, so that he would break into *laughter*, and say in a *facetious way*, *Had ever man such a Secretary, that can neither Write nor Read?* These two were suited for the employment, happily upon design; *Weston* being a kind of *Papist*, and *Convey* a *Protestant*, the better to close up the breach between the Emperor, and the King of *Bohemia*.

But *Ferdinand* being startled with the *flaring Glory* of this new King, to cast a damp upon it, and to terrifie him, and his Adherents, he caused this *Proscription* to be published against them.

“**W** E *Ferdinand, &c.* To all Electors, Princes, &c. but especially to the Subjects of *Frederick Count Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Elector, &c. send greeting. Because it is not known unto you, how that *Frederick Count Palatine* of the *Rhine, &c.* hath made himself head of that *perfidious* and *rebellious crew* of our Kingdom of *Bohemia*: Wherefore we proclaim the said *Frederick Count Palatine, &c.* Guilty of High *Treason*, and iterate *Proscription*, and of all the Penalties which by Law and Custom are depending thereon. We conclude him out of Our, and the Imperial Peace, and are firmly resolved

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1619.

Weston and Convey sent Amb. into Bohemia.

1620.

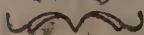
The Palatine proscribed.



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"solved to execute the said Penalties against the said *Frederick*,  
 "which calleth himself *Count Palatine* of the *Rhine*, as against  
 "one publickly proscribed, an Enemy and Adversary to us,  
 "and to the *Empire*, and as one which hath suffered himself to  
 "be made a Head of our disobedient and perfidious Rebels;  
 "who is a Contemner and Oppugner of our *Imperial Autho-*  
 "*rity*, and *Majesty*, who is an Infringer of Publick Peace,  
 "and Tranquillity, and of other *Ordinances* and *Laws* of the  
 "*Empire*. Commanding you, under pain of Life, that in no  
 "way you give any aid, succour, assistance, neither in Money,  
 "Provision, Munition, nor any way else, neither openly, nor  
 "covertly, under what colour or pretext soever, to the said  
 "*Frederick*, who calleth himself *Count Palatine* of the *Rhine*.  
 "And if one or more of you should serve, or be in pay of the  
 "said *Frederick*, his Complices, or Helpers, We command him,  
 "or them, to forsake the Service of the said proscribed *Fre-*  
 "*derick*, and of his Helpers. And we command you the Estates,  
 "Dependents, Alliances, Subjects and Vassals of the said pro-  
 "scribed *Frederick*, that henceforth you yield unto him no  
 "obedience, help, nor aid, in assisting him any further; nor  
 "partake of his Rebellion, Disobedience, and Crime, but ut-  
 "terly to forsake him in it, and to assist us with true and faith-  
 "ful aid and succour, to reduce the disobedient, disloyal, rebel-  
 "lious, proscribed *Frederick*, and his Helpers, to due Obe-  
 "dience, any Treaty, Confederacy, Amity and Alliance not-  
 "withstanding. And we absolve you that are Vassals of the  
 "said proscribed *Frederick*, or which are in his Protection, or  
 "which are his Natural Subjects, or Strangers, from all  
 "your Oaths, and Duties; promising to all those which shall  
 "be obedient unto this our *Mandate*, all *Imperial* favour, grace,  
 "and security. We will likewise, that none shall protect, de-  
 "fend or secure the said banished *Frederick*, and his Helpers,  
 "and Assistants, in nothing that may be profitable to them.  
 "For we exclude the said banished *Frederick*, together with  
 "his Adherents, from all favour, liberties, promises, security,  
 "publick peace, confederacies, alliances, laws, privileges,  
 "immunities and customs heretofore given unto him, and  
 "them, by our *Ancestors* the *Roman Emperors*. But he that  
 "shall be disobedient unto this our Will and Command, and  
 "shall assist, take part, or aid in any sort, either privately or  
 "publickly, under what colour soever, the said *Frederick*,  
 "who calleth himself *Count Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of  
 "*Bavaria*, We declare by these Presents guilty of high Treason,  
 "and iterate *Proscription*, no less than himself. And this let  
 "every one take notice of, to keep themselves from danger.  
 "Given in our City of Vienna, &c.

The



The Duke of *Saxony* took the Field with an Army of twenty thousand men, to execute this *Imperial Ban*, and reduced most part of *Lusatia*. But before this, the Earls of *Thurn*, and *Mansfeldt*, with a great Army stood the shock of the *Imperial power* in divers Assaults: but when the King was established in *Bohemia*, and his Counsels managed by the Prince of *Anhalt*, and the Earl of *Holoch*, then *Thurn* and *Mansfeldt* were eclipsed by the brightness of their power; for *Anhalt* must be General, and *Holoch* Lieutenant-General. This taking impression in the region of gallant winds, drew up some ill vapours of discontent, which tended to a fiery exhalation; that like ill Omens did preface an unhappy event.

While they were thus grappling in *Bohemia*, the Marquess *Spinola* was forming an Army in *Flanders*, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, Confederates to the *Palatine* (calling themselves the *Princes of the Union*) raised Forces for the defence of the *Palatinate*, and their own Interest, under the Command of the Marquess of *Ausbach*. But our King made no Preparations, yet he sent to his Ambassador at *Brussels*, commanding him to enquire for what purpose *Spinola's* Army was called together, the *Truce* continuing betwixt *Spain* and the *Low-Countries*; but the Ambassador could receive little satisfaction, the *Spanish* subtilty having sealed up *Spinola's* Commission, which he was not to open till the Army were ready to march. But men of ordinary understanding might apprehend, that an Army of six and twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, with all Military Provisions, were not to lye still; and though our King had divers Arguments presented to him, that did assure him that Army was intended for the *Palatinate*, yet would not his Spirit be set on work to preserve his *Childrens* *Patrimony*; So odious was the name of *War* to him! But at length, with much ado, one Regiment of Foot (to joyn with the *Princes of the Union*; and make a little noise and bustle) was extorted from him by importunities. This Regiment was the gallantest for the Persons, and outward pretence of men, that in many Ages (I think) hath appeared either at home or abroad: It consisted of two and twenty hundred compleat, the chief Commander Sir *Horatio Vere* (who was after Baron of *Tilbery*) a Person bred up in the School of *War*, and a known Master in the Art of *Victory*. He was accompanied with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex*, young and daring Spirits, whose honour not only descended from a long Series of Noble *Progenitors*, but they made it their own. And out of respect to them, as well as love to the Service, this Regiment was almost furnished with Gentlemen, who went to make themselves capable of better employment; the *English* for many years having been truants in that Art. The two Earls had two hundred and fifty men a piece

An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.

*Saxony* executes the *Imperial Ban*.

Preparations for War.



An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.

The march of  
the English  
into the Pala-  
tinate.

piece in each Company; and so many flocked to *Essex* out of love (and he loth to put them off) that he carried 300 men into the *Palatinate*, paying fifty of them with his own Money. The King being drawn to consent, that two Regiments more should follow for these two Noblemen, which gave the more encouragement to this petty *Enterprize*.

The *English* followed *Spinola*, but at a distance; for he being nearer to the *Palatinate*, got much the start of them, though they went out of *England* before he presented the *Arch-Dukes* with the civilities of his *Departure*, which was upon the eighth of *August*. And upon the last of the same month, by the Assistance of *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, and the benefit of a Bridge of boats a little below *Weasel*, they past the *Rhine* under the Conduct of Prince *Henry* of *Nassau*, who with two thousand Horse, and four hundred Musqueteers, taken out of *Gulick* and the adjacent Garrisons, cleared the Countrey before them, marching through *Gulickland*, and the barren Mountains of *Collenland*, till they came near to *Coblentz*, which Town stands upon the Center of two Rivers, the *Rhine*, and *Mosell*. Giving out in the march, as if the Army intended to pass the *Mosell*; but the Prince (to divert the Enemies intelligence) upon the sixteenth of *September* drew two miles back from *Coblentz*, and past the *Rhine* in *Punts*, a kind of *Liter*, advancing forward on the other side of the River three *English* miles that night, to a Village called *Hembach*, where the Foot stayed till the Horse past the River. And this sudden change of resolution was one of Prince *Henry's* Master-pieces; for he knew from *Collen*, *Spinola* would have intelligence by *Curriers*, which way the bent of their march tended; and they had the *Mosell* in their eye all the way, but the *Rhine* in intention. In the *Halt* before *Coblentz*, one bullet among others from the Town, past between General *Vere*, and the Earl of *Essex* standing together, and hit a Gentleman, called *Flood*, on the elbow: The cause of shooting from thence (as was conceived) proceeded from a Skirmish the night before, that happened betwixt some *English*, and the Country People of an adjoining Village on the *Mosell*; for Captain *Fairfax* being sent with a Squadron to them, in a peaceable manner, to desire the accommodation of bread and wine for Money, the *Bores* shot at him, and hurt some of his men; but he stoutly advancing to them, they took their Boats, and hasted down to *Coblentz*. Some of the *Bores* were reported to be slain, for which *Fairfax*, upon the Prince's complaint, was committed, to give the Country satisfaction, but the next day released.

Before the Army past the *Rhine*, General *Vere* sent Captain *Row*, and Captain *Dexter* (with ninety four sick men, some Tents, Trunks, and other Luggage, that were cumbersome) by

water



water to *Bacrash*, which Town within few days after was summon'd by *Spinola*, and yielded to him, after the example of *Oppenheim*, and the other Towns he had taken in the *Palatinate*; so spiritless were the people in every place, that he met no resistance in any thing that he attempted. The *English* taken in *Bacrash* were used with civility, and with the payment of small Ransoms, had liberty to return home. After the Army, both Horse and Foot, had passed the *Rhine*, they had hard marches through the pleasant Country of *Nassau* (whose *Amenity* and fruitfulness may rival the beauties of *France*) shaping their course towards *Frankford*.

*Spinola* finding himself deluded on one side of the *Rhine*, past the River *Main* with all his Horse, and four thousand Foot, intending to snap them on the other; but the stream being too high, his Waggons with Munition took wet, and some Field-peices miscarried, which could not be recovered with the loss of some of his men; which disasters happening, they admonished him to a retreat, otherwise in all probability he had cut off those Forces before they could have joyned with the Princes of the *Union*. The 24 of *September* Prince *Henry* with his Horse, and General *Vere* with the Foot, past the River *Main*, at a Ford not far from *Frankford*, the Foot for the most part marching up to the middle through the stream, and that night they stood in Arms, having two Alarums of *Spinola*'s approach, not hearing yet he was retired. The next day they had a long march to recover *Darmstat*, one half of which Town belongs to the King of *Bohemia*, the other part to the *Landsgrave* of *Hessen*. There Prince *Henry* and the *Dutch* Companies left the *English*, and returned into the *Netherlands* again, and fifteen hundred *German* Horse, commanded by Colonel *Megan*, met them, by order from the Princes of the *Union*. The 27 of *September* they came to *Beinsheim*, being the first intire Town in the *Palatinate* they arrived at; and upon the first of *October* past over the *Rhine* by *Worms*, upon a Bridge of Boats, and that day were met by the Marquess of *Ansbach*, and some others of the Princes of the *Union*, who stayed to see them march by, wondering at the gallantry of such Foot, who were with them the meanest of the people.

After two days rest, the Princes with part of their Army, being 4000 Horse, and 6000 Foot, joyned with the *English*, and together marched towards *Altzi* (a Town in the *Palatinate* that the Enemy had taken in) which they intended to surprize. But hearing by their Scouts that the Enemy had quitted the Town as not tenable, and that *Spinola* with his whole Army was marching towards them, they faced about to make his way the shorter, and within three hours their Scouts and the Enemies were in Skirmish, but the *German* Princes, not having their

An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1626.

*Spinola* attempts to intercept the *English*.

The *English* joyn with the Princes.



An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.

And prepare  
for a Charge.

whole Army, were not forward to engage. *Spinola* seeing them march towards him (being as weary as they) took the advantage of a Hill, and forced their Horse with his Cannon to retreat; but the Princes drew their Cannon up another Hill on the right hand of the Enemy, there being a large bottom, and a hill of Vineyards betwixt the two Armies, which were not visible but from thence, for the one Hill drowned the other to them in the bottom. As soon as they saw how the Enemy strove to secure himself, and that he was loth to come on, they judged their strength not to be great, and therefore took a resolution to set upon them. The *Dutch* in curtesie yielded the *Vanguard* to the *English*, which before they stood upon, as a *Punctilio* of honor. The *English* General drew out of every Division fourscore Musqueteers to give the *On-set*, who were encouraged by that Reverend Divine Doctor *Burges* (of whom mention is formerly made) who accompanied the General from *England*, and was an instrument of much good to that Regiment; though they needed no encouragement at that time, being *spirits* willingly prepared for such enterprises.

Standing thus ready, expecting the command of the Marquess of *Ansbach* to begin the charge, and the evening hastening with a fable foil to excuse his slowness: General *Vere* tired with his delays, rode up to the Hill, accompanied with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex*; and there they saw the Enemy began to march away, their Wagons marching in two ranks, and the Foot on the further side of them, the Wagons serving as a Bulwark for them; their Horse brought up the Rear, and the march was without *Drum* or *Trumpet*, till the last Division moved, and then they made the *Air* shake with the noise of their *shouts*, which was apprehended to be for joy of their escape: For the Princes afterwards had intimation, that they were not above six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, and that they had marched all night, hoping to have found them in some security at *Altzi*, that they might have beaten up their Quarters before they had been settled. But the *Spaniard*, like a cunning Miner, finding them in a posture to entertain him, was loth to engage, fearing their strength, and seeking advantages. And if their *German* heads had countermined with him, and interposed betwixt him and *Openheim* (his head Quarter, whither he was marching) being nearer to it than he, they might have either forced him to fight, or forced the Town from him. The Earl of *Essex* being informed of this by some that knew the Country, pressed the Marquess of *Ansbach* to it, desiring him not to let slip an opportunity so happily put into his hand. He, not well pleased to be urged to a thing so contrary to his humor, replied angerly, *There is a Fort betwixt us and the Town, and we must pass thither under the mercy of their Cannon.* Sir

Horatio



*Horatio Vere* hearing the *Marquesse's* reason, said, *When shall we then fight, if we shun the Cannon?* But no persuasion can be prevalent, where Power and Disaffection joyn their Force. The *Dutch* Horse skirmished with the Rear of the *Spanish*, and took five or six Horse, and some stragling Foot, that was all the hurt done them.

The next day they marched to Quarters again, where the Soldiers found the Country Roots, Fruits, and Wine in the Must, no good preservatives: But after they had stayed by it seven or eight days, *Spinola* led them a dance for digestion, pretending for *Keisars Luther*, a Town in the borders of the *Palatinate*, which made the Princes advance their whole body to attend him, but as they drew near he retreated, so that they sported with one another, as children at Seek and Find, though neither of their Armies could be much pleased with the sharp frosty nights, those desolate and naked Hills exposed them to, upon the top of one of them, the *English* Commanders one night burnt a great many of their Wagons to warm them, the Frost was so violent, and the Soldiers lay in heaps upon the ground close together like sheep cover'd as it were with a sheet of snow. Yet they spent the time thus till their Stoves summon'd them to warmer lodging. And the *English* Regiment was disposed into three principal Garrisons: General *Vere* commanded in *Manheim*, Sir *Gerard Herbert* in *Heidelberg*, and Serjeant-Major *Burrows* in *Frankendale*, imprisoning themselves in Walls, while the Enemy roamed round about them, and they had only power to preserve themselves; For the Princes of the *Unions* Forces were garrison'd in their several Countries. I have the more particularly described this Expedition, because I was an eye-witness of what passed; and if we had not had an allay of *Dutch dulness*, the *Spaniard* could not have carved to himself so great a share in that Country, and their opposers had not mouldred away their Forces as they did afterwards, which makes this Relation harsh and unpleasing.

But there was a *Divine Fate* attended not only this Country, but all *Germany*; For the *Almighty Wisdom* that is the Author of all *Revolutions* in the World, hath his set times for changes, which often tends to the imbettering of it. For all the *Northern* Conquests of the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Vandals*, *Scythians*, and other barbarous Nations, were to corroborate the *Southern* bodies, wafted with *Ease* and *Luxury*. And now in *Germany* a flood of Books, that almost tended to an inundation, overspread the World, and was her great disease: Besides the *drunken Dropsie*, witness their monstrous swelling tuns, and vessel. In lieu of books, War brings in *barbarism*, which is the first-born before *Plague*, or *Famine*. These do not always kill, but rectifie. Fall bodies are apt to fall sick, and then they must be drawn very low often-

An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.  
1620.

*Spinola* and the Princes hunt one another.

A sad Fate upon Germany.



An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.

A sad story of  
Mr. Duncomb.

times, before they come to perfect health. These *Judgments* have fallen heavy upon *England*, we drink the dregs of the Cup; one sin is not to be pointed at, but all; and though it hath been bitter to the taste, yet He that knows the nature of the *Ingredients* may make it wholsom unto those that love him.

One thing both pitiful and remarkable, that hapned in the *Palatinate*, was almost omitted. There was a Gentleman whose name was *Duncomb*, that was a Soldier in the Earl of *Oxford's* company. This young man left a *Gentlewoman* behind him in *England*, to whom he had vowed his heart, and promise of marriage; but her fortune being not fit for his Father's humor, he threatned to disinherit him, if he married her: and the better to alienate him from her, he sent him so long a journey, hoping time and absence might wear out those impressions, that the present fancy had fixed upon him, charging him at his departure, never to think of her more, lest with the thoughts of her he lost him for ever. The young man being now long absent from her, and having his heart full with the remembrance of her, could not contain himself, but let her know, that no threats or anger of *Parents*, should ever blot her memory out of his thoughts, which was illustrated with many expressions of love and affection. But the careless man writing at the same time to his Father, superscribed his Father's Letter to his Mistress, wherein he renounces her; and his Mistress's Letter to his Father, wherein he admires her. The Father swollen with rage and anger against the Son, sent him a bitter Letter back again full of menaces; and whether that, or shame for the mistake, that she should see he renounced her whom he profest to love, did overcome his Reason, is not known; but he killed himself, to the great grief of all the *English* there. And by this example *Parents* that are too rigid to their children, may see what *Murderers* they are: For it was not the young man's hand, but the old man's hard heart that killed him.

Good success  
in Bohemia.

The Prince of *Anhalt* General to the King of *Bohemia*, in the beginning of the *War* (like a red morning, that is the forerunner of a foul evening) met *Victory* smiling in his face: For hearing that *Bucquoy* the Imperial General with his Army was drawing near *Prague*, he interposed to stop his Progress, having not above twelve thousand men, a far less number than the *Imperialists*. *Bucquoy* had a wooden Stratagem, and it thriv'd accordingly; He mounted Trees upon Carriages, like Ordnance, to fright his Enemy; but they as wise as birds would not leave their prey for a whisp of straw drest like a man, but charged upon the mouths of such Cannon. *Anhalt* used a more real Stratagem, that took effect; He brought his Ordnance up behind his men, invisibly, loaden with *Musquet-bullet*; and when they should have charged the Enemy, made them wheel off, that those  
bloody



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bloody Engins might break their ranks, which they performed to purpose, and forced them to retire into a Wood, where pursuing their advantage, they scatter their main Body.

This was a fair *Spring*-time (the Battail being fought upon the tenth of *March*) and might have inanced the hopes of a good *Autumn*: But in *November* following (when the Princes of the *Union*, and *Spinola*, were hunting one another among the frosty Hills in the *Palatinate*) the Duke of *Bavaria* coming with a great Army towards *Prague*, and joyning *Bucquoy* and *Tillie*, with all their Forces together, like cruel Hunters, meant either to catch a Prey, or be a Prey. *Anhalt* then had not so closed with Count *Mansfeldt*, as to bring him up to him (being pufft up with his last Victory) and some of his Soldiers being discontented for want of Pay, it abated the edge of their Courage; yet he got with his Army betwixt the *Imperialists*, and *Prague*, and stood upon the advantage of Ground; but all would not do; a Hand went out that gave a Period to that *Royalty*; for the Enemy breaking through them, forced his way, and put the *Bohemians* into such confusion, that happy was he that could escape with his life. The Prince of *Anhalt*, and his Lieutenant General *Holloc*, were the first that fled, and brought the news of the defeat to the King at *Prague*, who (with his Queen astonish'd with the danger) being in a City not very defensible, among a wavering People, and a Conquering Enemy in the Field, took time by the fore-top, and in this hurly burly, the next morning, being the 9 of *Nov.* left *Prague*, taking with them their most portable things, having load enough within them: But the Queen, the more Gallant and Royal Spirit, carried it with most undauntedness; the King suffered doubly as he went, being blamed for keeping his Soldiers without pay, having such a masse of money by him, which he was forced to leave behind to his Enemies, and the imputation stuck upon him; but flying upon the Wings of common Fame, I shall not lure it into this *Relation* as a known Truth.

But by a sad Accident that some years after happened to this unfortunate King, it was obvious that he left not all behind him; for going to visit the Bankers of *Amsterdam*, where his Treasure lay brooding, and passing in the night over *Harlem mere*, the winds and darkness in a conspiracy, made a cross *Hoigh* to run against the King's, and bulged it in the *Sea*: but before it sunk, the King and others got to the *Mastring Vessel*, and saved themselves; But the Prince his Son (being of a pregnant, hopeful *puberty*) with too severe a fate, was left to the broken Boat, which they durst not approach again, though they heard his cries, so that he was abandoned to be tormented to death, which was more grievous than death it self, for the Waters being shallow, and the *Hoigh* sinking not far, the next day they found

*An. Reg.* 18.

*An. Christi.*

1620.

Bad success in  
*Bohemia.*

The King censured.

The loss of his Son.



An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.

The King's  
Character.

found him frozen to the *Mast*, embracing it as his last *Refuge*, his Body half above, half under the water. This Story, melting with Pity, is here inserted, because the glory of this King expires.

And since there will be occasion to mention him no more, because his *Actions* afterwards never mounted up one Story high; Take this brief Character of him. He was a comely *Personage* for body, of a good stature, his complexion of a dusky melancholy; the constitution of his mind rather fitted for those little *besoignes* of *Accounts*, and *Reckonings*, than any vigorous, or masculine heat, to solder up the crackt Title of a Crown: He was a handsom, well-built, but slight Edifice, set on an ill Foundation, that could not stand long. The King of great Britain (that the *Bohemians* built upon) was not of so firm a temper, as to support a Fortres (weakly made) that must endure the Rigorous Shock of War; which made it at the first or second Assault thus totter and fall.

Weston and  
Conwey return  
home.

The two English Ambassadors, *Weston* and *Conwey*, which our King sent to mediate for the *Bohemians*, could make little use of their *Oratory*, being scattered with the rest in the Cloud of this *Confusion*: But they brought the King and Queen to *Limburgh*, the first days journey, and after they were gone towards the *Netherlands*, the Ambassadors procured a safe Conduet from the Duke of *Bavaria* to return to *Prague*; But there they could find no words so prevalent and penetrable, as the steel of a Conquering Enemy; and so they returned home, *re infecta*, no wiser than they went out.

The Princes of  
the Union submit  
to *Ferdinand*.

This Defeat coming to the Ears of the *Princes* of the *Union*, quailed their courage, made them look back into their own condition; and having not so much faith as to depend upon our King for assistance, before the *Spring* they submitted themselves to the *Emperor*, leaving the almost ruined *Palatinate* as a Prey to an insulting Enemy; the *English* only giving Spirits to the Vital parts of it, conveyed by the Conduet of those Instruments, *Vere*, *Herbert*, and *Burrowes*; Men fitter to command Armies, than to be confined within the Walls of Towns.

So doth *Anhalt*.

As soon as *Anhalt* had done the King his Master this service, he retires, applies himself by mediation to the *Emperor*, is received with favour, and admitted to be one of his *Generals*. No wonder that the War thriv'd no better, when it was only made for worldly interests! It was not the badness of the Cause altogether, but the *Men*, that struck the deadly blow! The Protestant rage at *Prague* was not justifiable in the *Star-Chamber* of *Heaven*; though the *Popish* insolence might too much exasperate. The *Counsels* must be well weighed in all the Courts of Justice, when War is put into the Scale; for he that holds it, sits above, can turn it which way he pleases, and picks out men to manage it,



it, suitable to his own ends. If the *Protestant Party* had been *Conquerors*, it should not have been by the means of a *General* that could fight for it, and presently after take Arms against it: Such *luke-warm* tempers are not of a *Heavenly Constitution*! Therefore in all great *Actions*, respect the *Men*, as well as the *Cause*: for God seldom doth any great thing for his People by wicked Instruments.

*Mansfeldt* only, that was rejected and slighted by *Anhalt* makes good his *fidelity*, by bearing up against the *power* of the *Emperor*; not that he was able to grapple with his whole *Force*, but being an active spritely man, and having a nimble moving Army of fourteen or fifteen thousand men, he did harass the Countries, force Contribution from the Cities, and when any greater *power* came against him, he got from them into another Country, and harrowed that, to their perpetual vexation: So that he was as goads in their sides, and thorns in their eyes. And thus he continued in despite of the *Emperor*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, for almost two years after, till they were constrained to purchase their *peace* of him at a dear rate, to which *Mansfeldt* was also enforced, not finding assistance nor Supplies to support him.

As soon as the Princes in the *Palatinate* were retired to their Quarters, before the great loss at *Prague* came to their knowledge, the Earl of *Essex* with a Convoy of Horse to *Swibruken*, passed into *Lorain*, and through *France* posted for *England*, to solicit the King to send those Regiments promised, and other Supplies (if possible) that the *English* there, and the whole Countrey, might not be exposed to *ruine*. But when he came into *England*, he found the *Court Air* of another temper, and not as he left it, for it was much more inclined to the *Spanish Meridian*. And though *Gondemar*, the King of *Spain's* Ambassador, at the departure of one of his *Agents* into *Spain*, facetiously bad him commend him to the *Sun*, for he had seen none here a long while; yet we had the *Spanish* influence hot among us, the King himself warmed with it; then what will not the *Court* be?

The King and his Ministers of State had several ends, and drive different designs. His was, for the matching of his Son with some great Princess, aiming at no other *glory*, though he debased himself to purchase it. For presently after he received a Denial in *France*, he sent to Sir *John Digby*, his Leidge Ambassador in *Spain*, to treat of a Marriage betwixt the Prince of *Wales*, and the *Infanta Maria*, Sister to that King, which was in 1617. No blood but blood Royal can be a propitiatory Offering for his Son; yet the best Sacrifice is an humble spirit. No matter, what Religion, what Piety, that is not the Question. When Kings have earthly aims, without consideration of God, God looks to his

An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.

*Mansfeldt* vexeth the Emperor still.

*Essex* solicits our King for more Forces.

Obstructed by *Gondemar*.



An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.



his own *Glory*, without respect of man. The little *foundation of hope* they built upon at that time, was now raised to a *formal building*, by the cunning practices of *Gondemar*, who assured the King, it was his Master's real intention the Prince should marry the *Infanta*. And he wished the King his Master had all the *Palatinate* in his power, to present it as a *donative* to the Prince with his fair Mistris.

The King (that now heard all was lost in *Bohemia*, saw little possibility of injoying the *Palatinate* quietly, but by the Treaty of a Marriage) was lulled asleep with *Gondemar's* windy promises, which Sir *John Digby* seconded, being lately made Vice-Chamberlain to the King, Baron of *Sherborn*, and a great manager of the affairs at Court. Sir *Walter Aston* being sent Leidger Ambassador into *Spain*, for the general correspondence. And the King anchoring his *hopes* upon these shallow promises, made himself unable to prevent the *Tempest of War* that fell on the *Palatinate*, tying up his own hands, and suffering none to quench the *Fire* that devoured his Childrens *Patrimony*.

Spanish Pensioners.

On the other side, the great Courtiers that were our King's intimates, and had his ears, either through *easiness*, willing to please his *humour*, and not daring to oppose it; or else being *Papists* and *Pensioners* to *Spain*, striving to promote the *Catholick Cause*, out of love to it, or being suppld by that insinuating Minister *Gondemar* (who had his Master's purse at command, and purchased such as he thought to be most useful to his ends) were content to let the King go which way the stream of his affection carried him, and some of them put hand to the Oar. Those that were looked on under the name of *Spanish*, were *Arundel*, *Worcester*, *Digby*, *Calvert*, *Weston*, and some others *Popishly* affected; then *Buckingham*, and all the Train he swept along with him (except that party which his Mother managed) advanced the *Spanish Match* out of love to their Master. The Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquess *Hamilton*, both *Scotchmen*, and old servants, of great credit with him, and interest in his Counsels, were not so active; no more was *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, who after *Somerfet's* fall (by the late Queen's mediation) was made Lord Chamberlain to the King, a man that merited the highest employment: For these finding the King's *Genius* tending to the *Spanish Match*, and he a known Master of his own *Reason*, did not oppose him with a contesting spirit, but gave him some little hints, that he might know they were not of his mind. And he being able to *steer* his own course, looked after no other Pilot but *Gondemar*, and those that knew the Chanel. Making *Buckingham* his instrument and only bosom-Counsellor in those affairs, which afterwards brought the hatred of the people with the more violence upon him: For they look not upon the King in any



any miscarriage with an eye of *Anger* (such was the *English* modesty, if Kings had been sensible of it) but upon such intimate Ministers, as he makes active in those things which are contrary to their affection. And though there were general *murmurs* in the *breasts* of the people, which found vent enough in *corners*, yet the *Council-table*, and *Star-chamber* are such terrifiers, that (as one said) *none durst run riot*, but keep at the *stirrop*, at excellent command, and come in at the least *rebuke* or *check*.

It was thought the *Papists* did much contribute to *Gondemar's* liberality; for they began to flourish in the Kingdom, he having procured many *Immunities* for them, and they used all their industry to further the *Match*, hoping that if the Prince did not adhere to *Rome*, yet his *Offspring* might; and at present looked for little less than a *Toleration*.

No stubborn piece of either *Sex* stood in *Gondemar's* way, but he had an *Engin* to remove them, or screw them up to him. None that complied with him but found the effects of his friendship; many *Jesuits* fared the better for his intercession, he releasing *numbers*, among the rest one *Bauldwin*, an *arch-Priest*, accused to have had a hand in the *Gunpowder-Treason*, and had been seven years in the *Tower*, a man of a dangerous and mischievous *spirit*, who was (after his release) made *Rector* of the *Jesuits College* at *St. Omers*. By his *Artifices* and *Negotiations* (having been time enough *Ambassador* in *England* to gain credit with the King) he got *Sir Robert Mansel* (the *Vice-Admiral*) to go into the *Mediterranean sea*, with a *Fleet* of *Ships* to fight against the *Turks* at *Algier*, who were grown too strong and formidable for the *Spaniard* (most of the King of *Spain's* Gallions attending the *Indian Trade*, as *Convoys* for his *Treasures*, which he wanted to supply his *Armies*) and he transported *Ordnance*, and other *Warlike Provisions* to furnish the *Spanish Arsenals*, even while the *Armies* of *Spain* were battering the *English* in the *Palatinate*; so open were the King's ears to him, so deaf to others: For *Sir Robert Nanton*, one of his *Secretaries* (a Gentleman of known honesty and integrity) shewed but a little dislike of those proceedings, and he was commanded from Court, and *Conwey* was put in his place. And *Gondemar* had as free access to the King as any *Courtier* of them all (*Buckingham* excepted) and the King took delight to talk with him; for he was full of *Conceits*, and would speak *false Latin* a purpose in his merry fits to please the King; telling the King plainly, *He spoke Latin like a Pedant; but I speak it like a Gentleman*: And he wrought himself so by subtilty into the King's good affections, that he did not only work his own will, but the King's into a belief that the *Treaties* in agitation, were (though flow) real and effectual. So easily may wise men be drawn to those things their desires with *violence* tend to.

An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.  
1620.

Papists flourish.

Gondemar's power.



An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.

Prevails with  
both Sexes.

And he cast out his *Baits* not only for men ; but if he found an *Atalanta*, whose tongue went nimbler than her feet, he would throw out his golden Balls to catch them also. And in these times there were some *Ladies*, pretending to be *Wits* (as they called them) or had fair *Neices*, or *Daughters*, which drew great *Resort* to their houses ; and where company meet, the discourse is commonly of the *times* (for every man will vent his *passion*) these *Ladies* he sweetned with *Presents* ; that they might allay such as were too sower in their *expression*, to stop them in the course, if they ran on too fast, and bring them to a gentler pace. He lived at *Ely-House* in *Holborn*, his passage to the Court was ordinarily through *Drury-lane* (the *Covent-Garden* being then an inclosed field) and that Lane and the *Strand* were the places where most of the *Gentry* lived, and the *Ladies* as he went, knowing his times, would not be wanting to appear in their *Balconies*, or *Windows*, to present him their *Civilities*, and he would watch for it ; and as he was carried in his *Litter* or *bottomless Chair* (the easiest seat for his *Fistula*) he would strain himself as much as an old man could to the humblest posture of *Respect*. One day passing by the Lady *Jacob's* house in *Drury-lane*, she exposing her self for a *Salutation*, he was not wanting to her, but she moved nothing but her *mouth*, gaping wide open upon him. He wondred at the *Ladie's incivility*, but thought that it might be happily a yawning fit took her at that time ; for trial whereof, the next day he finds her in the same place, and his *Courtesies* were again accosted with no better expressions than an *extended mouth*. Whereupon he sent a Gentleman to her, to let her know, that the *Ladies* of *England* were more gracious to him, than to incounter his *Respects* with such *Affronts*. She answered, it was true that he had purchased some of their *favours* at a dear rate, And she had a mouth to be stopt as well as others. *Gondemar* finding the cause of the emotion of her mouth, sent her a *Present*, as an *Antidote*, which cured her of that distemper.

Vanity of this  
Age.

These kind of *Spirits* were let loose to be suitable to the times they lived in, and they wrought strange effects ; for this being a *Widdow*, and of no good Fame, with her subtilties intrapt in her nets, and married a famous *Lawyer*, a man of great *Reputation*, and a pregnant wit, and many other young Gentlewomen (whom their Parents debaucheries drive to necessities) made their *Beauties* their *fortunes*, coming to *London* to put them to sale, and some of them had so good Markets, that they obtained great *Pensions* during their lives, and afterwards were married to men of eminent parts, and fortunes, accounted wise, gallant, and *Heroical spirits*. Such *silly Fate* often intermingles with those parts though never so excellent, when the *sensitive* faculties get predominance over the *Reason* ! And such men as were



were affected to wantonness, would vulgarly brag of it; nay, many times to the traducing of a *Ladies fame*, and their own (I cannot say) *innocence*: For some would say, and vent it as an *Apothegm*, *I would rather be thought to enjoy such a Lady, though I never did it, than really to enjoy her, and no body know it.* Such pride was taken in sin, and so brazen-faced and impudent such crimes were then! And though men thought them small, and trivial, yet they were of such weight, that they pressed those down that practised them (though great in the *Worlds Eye*) to be now in little better esteem than the meanest of the People. But as *Tacitus* modestly covered the faults of some that followed *Nero* in his folly, and madness; *Ne nominatim tradam majoribus eorum tribuendum puto*, for the honour (he saith) of their *Ancestors*; so though I name the vices, I shall spare the *Persons*, out of respect to their *Posterity*.

The Earl of *Buckingham*, as great in *Title* as in *Favour*, was now grown a *Marquess*; and lying all this while in the King's bosom, every man paid tribute to his smiles. As the King bought off *Worcester*, to make him Master of the Horse; so he bought off *Nottingham*, to make him Admiral. What may not he have, that is not only Master of his Horse, and Ships, but his Heart also? His Mother is created a Countess by *Patent*, and her second Husband, Sir *Thomas Compton*, had no other *Title* but an *unworthy one*, which the People (either out of their anger, or her *misdemeanour*) imposed upon him. Her eldest Son, first made Sir *John Villiers*, after Viscount *Purbeck*, married to the Daughter and Heir of the Lady *Elizabeth Hatton* by Sir *Edward Cook*; a Lady of transcending beauty, but accused for wantonness. *Purbeck* not well able to look down from these great heights, got a giddiness in his head, which confined him to a dark room. Her other Son, first made Sir *Christopher Villiers*, was after created Earl of *Anglesey*, whose honour mixt with a weak brain, could not buoy him up from sinking into that distemper that drowns the best *Wits*. Her Daughter presently after also shined in the same *Sphere* with her, her Husband being from a private Gentleman made Earl of *Denbigh*. Happy is he can get a Kinswoman, it is the next way to a thriving Office, or some new swelling Title. The King, that never much cared for Women, had his Court swarming with the *Marquesses* kindred so, that little ones would dance up and down the *privy Lodgings* like *Pharies*; and it was no small sap would maintain all those suckers.

And now we have named Sir *Thomas Compton*, there will follow a Story of his youthful *Actions*, which though done long since, will not be uncomely to croud in here. He had the remark of a slow-spirited man when he was young; and truly his Wife made him retain it to the last. But such as found him

An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.  
1620.

*Buckingham*  
rules all.

A Duel be-  
twixt *Compton*,  
and *Bird*.



An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.



so in those *vigorous days* of *Duelling*, would trample on his easiness; and there could not a worse *Character* be imprinted on any man, than to be termed a *Coward*. Among the rest, one *Bird*, a roaring Captain, was the more bold and insolent against him, because he found him slow, and backward (which is a *baseness* of an *over-daring nature*) and his *provocations* were so great, that some of *Compton's* Friends taking notice of it, told him, It were better to die nobly once, than to live infamously ever; and wrought so upon his cold temper, that the next affront that this bold *Bird* put upon him, he was heartned into the Courage to send him a Challenge. *Bird*, a massy great Fellow, confident of his own strength (disdaining *Compton*, being less both in Stature and Courage) told the Second that brought the Challenge, in a vapouring manner, That he would not stir a foot to encounter *Compton*, unless he would meet him in a Saw-pit, where he might be sure *Compton* could not run away from him: The Second, that looked upon this as a *Rodomontado* fancy, told him, That if he would appoint the Place, *Compton* should not fail to meet him. *Bird* making choice both of the Place, and Weapon (which in the vain formality of Fighters, was in the election of the Challenged) he chose a Saw-pit, and a single Sword, where, according to the time appointed, they met. Being both together in the Pit, with swords drawn, and stript ready for the encounter, Now *Compton* (said *Bird*) *thou shalt not escape from me*; and hovering his sword over his head, in a disdainful manner, said, Come *Compton*, let's see what you can do now: *Compton* attending his business with a watchful eye, seeing *Bird's* Sword hovering over him, ran under it, in upon him, and in a moment run him through the body, so that his *pride* fell to the ground, and there did spraul out its last *vanity*. Which should teach us, that strong presumption is the greatest weakness, and it is far from wisdom in the most arrogant *Strength*, to slight and disdain the meanest *Adversary*. There is yet in *bleeding memory* (even in these *Times* of just severity against this *impious Duelling*) one of the same Family of the *Compton's*, in some part guilty of *Bird's* Crime; for the *Provoker* to such horrid *Encounters* seldom escapes, the *Divine Justice* permitting such violent *madness* to tend to its own *destruction*. But to return to our Story.

Two Lord  
Treasurers in  
one year.

Sir *Henry Mountague*, Lord Chief Justice (as the Reports of those Times lively voted) laid down twenty thousand pounds for the Office of Lord *Treasurer*; and before the year expired, it was conferred upon Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, who had been a Citizen of *London*, bred up in the *Custom-house*, and knowing the *secret contrivances* of those Officers, was thought fittest to manage the King's Revenue: For in expensive and wanting Courts, those great Officers are most acceptable, that by their *finenesses* and *projects*, can bring in that, which with riot and prodigality goes



goes out. But the great step to his Office, was *Cranfield's* marrying one of the *Marquess's* kindred, which mounted him presently after to be Earl of *Middlesex*. The Lord chief Justice for his Money was made a *Precedent*, as some jested; the King finding him a man intelligent in all the great Affairs of State, made him Lord *President* of the Council, Viscount *Mandevill*, and Earl of *Manchester*, and after the death of *Worcest*, was Lord *Privy Seal*.

But though the *Marquess* of *Buckingham* in appearance acted all these Removes, and Advancements, yet his Mother, the Countess, wrought them in effect; for her hand was in all Transactions, both in Church and State; and she must needs know the *disposition* of all things, when she had a feeling of every man's *pulse*; for most Addresses were made to her first, and by her conveyed to her Son (for he looked after his *pleasure* more than his *profit*) which made *Gondemar* (who was well skilled in *Court Holy-Water*) among other his witty pranks, write merrily in his Dispatches into *Spain*, *That there was never more hope of England's Conversion to Rome, than now; for there are more prayers and oblations offered here to the Mother, than to the Son.*

For the *Marquess* himself, as he was a man of excellent *symmetry*, and proportion of *parts*, so he affected *beauty*, where he found it; but yet he looks upon the whole race of *Women*, as inferior things, and uses them as if the *Sex* were one, best pleased with all: And if his *eye* cull'd out a wanton *beauty*, he had his *Setters* that could spread his *Nets*, and point a meeting at some *Ladies House*, where he should come (as by accident) and find *Accesses*, while all his *Train* attended at the dore, as if it were an *honourable visit*. The Earl of *Rutland*, of a Noble Family, had but one Daughter to be the *Mistress* of his great *Fortune*, and he tempts her, carries her to his *Lodgings* in *White-hall*, keeps her there for some time, and then returns her back again to her Father. The stout old Earl sent him this threatening Message, *That he had too much of a Gentleman to suffer such an indignity, and if he did not marry his Daughter to repair her honour, no greatness should protect him from his justice.* *Buckingham*, that perhaps made it his *design* to get the Father's good will this way (being the greatest *match* in the Kingdom) had no reason to dislike the *Union*, therefore he quickly salved up the wound, before it grew to a *quarrel*: And if this Marriage stopt the Current of his sins, he had the less to answer for. This young Lady was bred a *Papist* by her Mother, but after her Marriage to the *Marquess*, she was converted by Doctor *White* (as was pretended) and grew a zealous *Protestant*, but like a *morning dew*, it quickly vanished: For the old Countess of *Buckingham* never left working by her sweet Instruments the

An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.  
1620.

The Countess  
of Buck. rules  
her Son.

*Buckingham* a  
lover of  
Ladies.



An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.

The King calls  
a Parliament.Sir Rob. Cotton  
Hen. 3.

*Jesuits*, till she had placed her on the first foundation. So that the *Marquess*, betwixt a Mother and a Wife, began to be indifferent, no *Papist*, yet no *Protestant*; but the *Arminian Tenets* taking root, were nourished up by him, and those that did not hold the same opinions, were counted *Puritans*. These new indifferences now grew so hot in *England*, that the *Protestant Cause* grew very cold in *Germany*. Which made the *spirits* of most men rise against the *Spanish Faction* at home, and *Spain's* incroaching *Monarchy* abroad.

And though the King sped ill the last Parliament of *Somerset's* undertaking, and thought to lay them by for ever (as he often expressed) looking upon them as incroachers into his *Prerogative*, and diminishers of his *Majesty*, and *Glory*, making Kings less, and Subjects more than they are; Yet now, finding the peoples desires high-mounted for regaining the *Palatinate*, he thought they would look only up towards that, and liberally open their *Purses*, which he might make use of, and this *Unanimity* and good agreement, betwixt him and his people, would induce his *Brother of Spain* to be more active in the *Treaty* in hand, and so he should have supply from the one, and dispatch from the other. But *Parliaments* that are like *Physicians* to the bodies of *Common-wealths*, when the *humors* are once stirred, they find cause enough many times to administer sharp *Medicines*, where there was little appearance of *Diseases*. For in this *Recess* and *Ease*, *Time-servers*, and *Flatterers*, had cried up the *Prerogative*; And the King wanting Money for his vast expenses, had furnished himself by unusual courses. For Kings excessive in gifts, will find followers excessive in demands; and they that weaken themselves in giving, lose more in gathering, than they gain in the gift: For *Prodigality in a Sovereign, ends in the Rapine and Spoil of the Subject*. To help himself therefore and those that drained from him, he had granted several *Patents* to undertakers, and *Monopolizers*, whereby they preyed upon the people by suits and exactions, milkt the Kingdom, and kept it poor, the King taking his ease, and giving way to *Informers*; the *Gentry* grown debauched, and *Fashion-mongers*, and the *Commons*, soft, and besotted with quiet and restiness, drunk in so much *disability*, that it might well be said by *Gondemar*, *England had a great many people, but few men*. And he would smile at their *Musters*; for through disuse they were grown careless of *Military Discipline*, ill provided of *Arms*, effeminate, Officers neglecting their charges and duties, conniving for gain at their *Neighbours miscarriages*. Some of the Officers in the *Militia*, and *Justices of the Peace* not a few, being *Church-Papists*, floating upon the smooth stream of the times, overwhelming all others that opposed them, *stigmatizing* them with the name of *Puritans*, and that was mark enough to hinder the current

of



of any proceeding or preferment aimed at, or hoped for, either in Church or State.

And the *Jesuits* ranging up and down (like *spirits* let loose) did not now, as formerly, creep into corners, using close and cunning *Artifices*, but practised them openly, having admission to our Counsellors of State, for when Secretaries, and such as manage the intimate Counsels of Kings are *Jesuitical*, and *Clients* to the *Pope*, there can be no tendency of *Affection* to a contrary *Religion* or *Policy*. Those were only most active in the Court of *England*, that courted the King of *Spain* most, and could carry the face of a *Protestant*, and the heart of a *Papist*, the rest were contented to go along with the cry: For they hunted but a cold scent, and could pick out, and make nothing of it, that drew off, or crost, or hunted counter. Which raised the *spirits* of the people so high against them, that were the chief *Hunters* in these times, that they brought the King himself within the compass of their *Libels* and *Pasquils*, charging him to love his *hounds* better than his *people*. And if this bad blood had been heated to an itch of *Innovation*, it would have broke out to a very sore and incurable *Malady*; every man seeing the danger, few men daring to prevent it. The *Pulpits* were the most bold *Opposers*, but if they toucht any thing upon the *Spanish policy*, or the intended *Treaties* (for the *Restitution* of the *Palatinate* was included in the *Marriage* before it was the *Spaniards* to give) their *mouths* must be stopt by *Gondemar*, without the *Lady Jacob's Receipt*, and (it may be) confined, or imprisoned for it: So that there were no plain downright blows to be given, but if they cunningly, and subtilly, could glance at the misdemeanors of the Times, and smooch it over *metaphorically*, it would pass current, though before the King himself.

For about this time one of his own *Chaplains*, preaching before him at *Greenwich*, took this *Text*, *4 Mat. 8. And the Devil took Jesus to the top of a Mountain, and shewed him all the Kingdoms of the World, saying, All these will I give, &c.* He shewed what power the *Devil* had in the World at that time, when he spake these words, and from thence he came down to the power of the *Devil* now. And dividing the World into four parts, he could not make the least of the four to be *Christian*, and of those how few went God's way? So that he concluded the *Devil* to be a great *Monarch*, having so many Kingdoms under his command, and no doubt he had his *Vice-Roys*, *Council of State*, *Treasurers*, *Secretaries*, and many other Officers to manage, and order his affairs, for there was order in *hell* it self; which after he had mustered together, he gives a *character* of every particular *Officer*, who were fit to be the *Devil's servants*, running through the body of the Court, discovering the *correspondencies* with *Jesuits*, secret *Pensions* from Foreign Princes, betraying their Masters

Counsellors

An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.

Jesuits swarm.

A Satyrical Sermon.



An. Rég. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.



Counsels to deserve their Rewards, working and combining to the prejudice of God's people. And when he came to describe the *Devil's Treasurers* exactions and gripings, to get money, he fixt his eye upon *Cranfield*, then Lord *Treasurer* (whose marriage into the house of *Fortune*, and Title of *Earl*, could not keep him from being odious to the people) and pointing at him with his hand, said with an *Emphasis*, *That man* (reiterating it) *That man, that makes himself rich; and his Master poor, he is a fit Treasurer for the Devil.* This the *Author* heard, and saw, whilst *Cranfield* sat with his hat pulled down over his eyes, ashamed to look up, lest he should find all mens eyes fixt upon him; the King, who sat just over him, smiling at the quaint *Satyr* so handsomely coloured over. It seems *Neile*, the Bishop of *Lincoln* was not by him then; for when any man preached that had the *Renown* of *Piety* (unwilling the King should hear him) he would in the *Sermon* time, entertain the King with a *merry Tale* (that I may give it no worse title) which the King would after laugh at, and tell those near him, he could not hear the *Preacher* for the old *B. Bishop*. We must confess, this *Relation* smells too rank, but it was too true, and hope the *modest Reader* will excuse it (We having had divers hammerings and conflicts within us to leave it out) seeing it proceeds not from any rancour of *spirit* against the *Prelacy*, but to vindicate God's *Justice* to *Posterity*, (who never punishes without a Cause) and such like practices as these were doubtless put upon the *score*, which after gave a *period* to that *Hierarchy*. This man's hand helped to close up the Countess of *Essex's* *Virginity*, when he was *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; his heart had this kind of *vanity* when he was *Lincoln*; and when he was Arch-bishop of *York* his head was so filled with *Arminian* impiety, that in the next King's Reign he was looked upon by the Parliament to be one of the great *Grievances* of the Kingdom, as will follow in the Tract of this *Story*.

Jesuitrices.

But *England* was not only man'd with *Jesuits* (all power failing to oppose them) but the women also began to practise the trade, calling themselves *Jesuitrices*. This Order was first set a foot in *Flanders*, by *Mistress Ward*, and *Mistress Twittie*, two *English* Gentlewomen, who clothed themselves in *Ignatian* habit, and were countenanced and supported by *Father Gerard*, Rector of the *English* College at *Liege*, with *Father Flack*, and *Father More*. But *Father Singleton*, *Father Benefield*, and others opposed them, and would not bless them with an *Itē, predicate*; for their design was to preach the *Gospel* to their sex in *England*. And in short time this *Mistress Ward* (by the Pope's indulgence) became the Mother-general of no less than two hundred *English* *damsels* of good birth and quality, whom she sent abroad to preach, and they were to give account to her of their *Apostolick labours*. This *Spawn* out of the mouth of the *Beast*, and many other fine

Jesuitical



Jesuitical exploits, are more particularly related by *Wadsworth* in his *Spanish Pilgrim* (who was son to that *Wadsworth*, that went over Chaplain into *Spain*, with our King's first Leidger Ambassador, Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, and there perverted by the *Jesuits*) which young man being bred up at *Saint Omers*, in the *Nursery* of *Jesuitism*, discovered all their *machinations*. Such a brood of *Vipers* being then nourished in the bowels of this Kingdom.

The King, that either thought these instruments were not so active, or that they would not be discovered, was resolved upon a Parliament, for the former *Reasons*, which began the twentieth of *January* this year; yet not being ignorant of some mis-carriages that passed by his allowance, he strives to palliate them, and gives the Parliament some little touches of them by the way, that when they should find them, they might (by his *Anticipation*) appear the less. And being loth to have the breach between him and his people made wider, he thus strives to stop the gap.

“MY Lords, *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and you the Commons. *cui multiloquio non deest peccatum*. In the last Parliament I made long Discourses; especially to them of the Lower House, I did open the true thought of my heart. But I may say with our Saviour, *I have piped to you, and you have not danced, I have mourned, and you have not lamented*. Yet as no man's Actions can be free, so in me, God found some spices of *Vanity*, and so all my sayings turned to me again, without any success. And now to tell the *Reasons* of your Calling, and this Meeting, apply it to your selves, and spend not the time in long Speeches. Consider, That the Parliament is a thing composed of a Head and a Body; the *Monarch*, and the two *Estates*: It was first a *Monarchy*, then after a *Parliament*; there are no *Parliaments* but in *Monarchical Governments*; for in *Venice*, the *Netherlands*, and other Free-Governments, there are none. The Head is to call the Body together, and for the Clergy the Bishops are chief, for Shires their Knights, and for Towns and Cities their Burgeesses and Citizens. These are to treat of difficult matters, and to counsel their King with their best advice, to make Laws for the Commonweal; and the Lower House is also to petition the King, and acquaint him with their grievances, and not to meddle with their King's Prerogative. They are to offer supply for his necessity, and he to distribute in recompence thereof *Justice* and *Mercy*. As in all Parliaments, it is the King's office to make good Laws (whose Fundamental Cause is the peoples ill manners) so at this time. That we may meet with the new *Abuses*, and the in-croaching craft of the times, particulars shall be read hereafter.

“As

An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.

The Parliament meet the 20 Jan.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.



An. Reg. 18.

An. Christi.

1620.



"As touching *Religion*. Laws enough are made already; it  
 "stands in two points, *Persuasion* and *Compulsion*. Men may per-  
 "suade, but God must give the  *blessing*. *Jesuits*, *Priests*, *Puritans*,  
 "and *Sectaries*, erring both on the right-hand and left-hand, are  
 "forward to persuade unto their own ends; and so ought you  
 "the Bishops, in your example and preaching; but *compulsion* to  
 "obey, is to bind the Conscience.

"There is talk of the *Match* with *Spain*: But if it shall not  
 "prove a furtherance to *Religion*, I am not worthy to be your  
 "King: I will never proceed, but to the Glory of God, and  
 "content of my Subjects.

"For a *supply* to my *necessities*. I have reigned eighteen years,  
 "in which time you have had *Peace*, and I have received far less  
 "supply than hath been given to any King since the *Conquest*.  
 "The last Queen of *famous memory*, had one year with another  
 "above a hundred thousand pounds *per annum* in Subsidies. And  
 "in all my time I had but four Subsidies, and six Fifteens. It is  
 "ten years since I had a Subsidy, in all which time I have been  
 "sparing to trouble you. I have turned my self as nearly to  
 "save expence as I may. I have abated much in my Household-  
 "expences, in my Navies, in the charge of my Munition: I made  
 "not choice of an old beaten Soldier for my *Admiral*, but ra-  
 "ther chose a young man, whose *honesty* and *integrity* I knew;  
 "whose care hath been to appoint under him sufficient men to  
 "lessen my charges, which he hath done.

"Touching the *miserable dissensions* in *Christendom*. I was not  
 "the cause thereof; for the appeasing whereof, I sent my Lord  
 "of *Doncaster*, whose journey cost me three thousand five hun-  
 "dred pounds. My Son-in-law sent to me for advice, but within  
 "three days after accepted of the Crown; which I did never  
 "approve of for three *Reasons*.

"First, for *Religion* sake, as not holding with the *Jesuits* dis-  
 "posing of Kingdoms, rather learning of our Saviour to uphold,  
 "not to overthrow them.

"Secondly, I was no Judge between them, neither acquainted  
 "with the Laws of *Bohemia*. *Quis me judicem fecit?*

"Thirdly, I have treated a *Peace*, and therefore will not be  
 "a party. Yet I left not to preserve my Childrens *patrimony*; for  
 "I had a Contribution of my Lords and Subjects, which amoun-  
 "ted to a great Sum. I borrowed of my Brother of *Denmark*  
 "seventhousand, five hundred pounds, to help him, and sent  
 "as much to him, as made it up ten thousand: And thirty  
 "thousand I sent to the Princes of the *Union* to hearten them.  
 "I have lost no time, had the Princes of the *Union* done their  
 "part, that handful of men I sent had done theirs. I intend to send  
 "by way of persuasion, which in this Age will little avail, un-  
 "less a strong hand assist. Wherefore I purpose to provide an  
 "Army



"Army the next Summer, and desire you to consider of my necessities, as you have done to my Predecessors. *Qui cito dat, bis dat.* I will engage my Crown, my Blood, and my Soul in that Recovery.

"You may be informed of me in things in course of justice; but I never sent to any of my Judges to give Sentence contrary to the Law. Consider the Trade, for the making thereof better; and shew me the Reason why my Mint, for these eight or nine years, hath not gone. I confess, I have been liberal in my Grants, but if I be informed, I will amend all hurtful grievances: But who shall hasten after grievances, and desire to make himself popular, he hath the Spirit of Satan. If I may know my errors, I will reform them. I was in my first Parliament a Novice; and in my last there was a kind of Beasts, called Undertakers, a dozen of whom undertook to govern the last Parliament, and they led me. I shall thank you for your good Office, and desire that the World may say well of our Agreement.

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1620.

The Parliament comply with the King.

Physicians have an Aphorism, *Si caput infirmum, cetera membrum dolent.* This Head is not a weak one, but subtil enough for the Body. The Parliament knew well whom they had to deal with, and managed their business in the beginning, that they were the readier to grapple with him in the end. They would not stir a Stone of that foundation his Prerogative rested on, but those men that had wrought themselves in, to supplant and undermine the Common Liberties, they fell sore upon them.

The King was modest, and almost ashamed to tell the Parliament, how much Money the Viscount Doncaster's Journey cost, therefore he minces it into a small proportion. But this we know, when he landed at Rotterdam, the first night and morning, before he went to the Hague, his Expences those two meals, in the Inn where he lay, came to above a Thousand Guilders, which is a Hundred pounds Sterling. And the Inn-keeper at the Peacock at Dort (hoping he would make that his way into Germany) made great Provisions for him, upon no other Order, but a bare Fancy; and the Ambassador taking his way by Utrecht, the Inn-keeper of Dort followed him, complaining that he was much prejudiced by his baulking that Town: For hearing of a great Ambassador's coming, and what he had expended at Rotterdam, I made (saith he) Preparations suitable, and now they will lye on my hands: Which coming to Doncaster's ear, he commanded his Steward to give him Thirty pounds sterling, and never tasted of his Cup. And we have been assured by some of his Train, that his very Carriages could not cost so little as Threescore pounds a day, for he had with him

Doncaster's Ambassy expensive.



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He is feasted  
by the Pr. of  
Oranges.

His short  
character.

Digby goes in-  
to Germ.

The King's  
wants.

him a great many Noblemens Sons, and other Personages of *quality*, that the *Germans* might admire the *glory* of the *English*, as well as the *French* did in his last *Ambassage*. And he was out so long following the *Emperor*, in his *Progresses* from City to Camp, and from Camp to City, a poor humble *Solicitor*, if not *Petitioner*, that his *Expence* could not amount to less than fifty, or threescore thousand pounds.

When he was at the *Hague*, had made his visits, and filled the Town with the admiration of his *bravery* and *feasts*. Some intimates to *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, advised him to feast the great *English* Ambassador. *Yes, yes*, (saith the Prince) *bid him come*. When the Prince's Steward had notice of the invitation (from other hand, for the Prince gave no order in it) he comes to the Prince and tells him, there will be great *preparations* expected; for the Ambassador's *ordinary meals* were *Feasts*; and he had an numerous and splendid Train of Nobles and Gentry, that did accompany him. *Well* (said the Prince) *fit me a dinner, such as I use to have, and let me see the bill of fare*. When the Steward brought the Bill, the Prince liked it well; but the Steward said, Sir, *This is but your ordinary diet; now you should have some thing extraordinary, because this is an extraordinary Ambassador*. The Prince thinking some reason in the Steward's Arguments, and finding but one Pig nominated in the Bill, commanded him to put down another Pig, and that was all the additions he would make. Which Dish as it is not very pleasing and acceptable to the *Scots* Nation for the most part, so we know not whether it were by accident, or on purpose to displease him. But this is well known, there could be nothing more contemptible to the *morose* and *severe* temper of the Prince's spirit, than this *comportment* of *Doncaster's*, which most men interpreted to be *pride* and *prodigality*. But truly (set those vanities of *Grandure* aside, for the honor, though not profit of his Master) He was a Gentleman every way compleat. His Bounty was adorned with *Courtesie*, his *Courtesie* not affected, but resulting from a natural Civility in him. His Humbleness set him below the Envy of most, and his Bounty brought him into esteem with many. A true Courtier for complying, and one that had Language enough to be *real* as well as *formal*; for he could personate both to the height of *expression*. So that he was very fit for his employment, though it were purchased at a dear rate.

But to leave this digression. Some small time after the Parliament began, the King, according to his intentions and expressions in his Speech to them, dispatched away the Lord *Digby* Ambassador to the *Emperor*, where he was to press for a punctual Answer, whether the *Palatinate* might be recovered by *Peace*, or *War*.

And now expecting his return, and the *Emperor's* answer, the Parliament



Parliament go on with their Work, receiving divers Petitions from several persons imprisoned and ruined, by the violent extortions of such Ministers, and Informers, as were active to promote the illegal exactions, that the King's necessities, and ill-advised Counsels drive him to. For he was grown very low, not having had the assistance of his people in ten years (as he himself notes) so that he was forced to lessen his Houshold, and bring his Expences down, not being willing to call a Parliament to supply him. Like *Henry the third of England*, whose Life and Reign, *Sir Robert Cotton* (that able understander and lover of *Antiquities*) wrote about this time, wherein he presents that King so fearful of calling Parliaments, that he would rather pawn his Crown Jewels, give over his House, & cum *Abbatibus*, & *Prioribus prandere*, dine and eat with the *Monks*, rather than be beholden to his people. And some thought this Piece of *Sir Robert Cotton's* a Parallel for these times. But our King was not so much necessitated, though his wants were the greater, because they confined the greatness of his mind.

The main things which the Parliament insisted on (though many others came by the by) were the three great Patents, for Inns, Ale-houses, and Gold and Silver thred. Upon every Inn, and Ale-house, there was a great Fine and Annual Revenue set, throughout the Kingdom, and they that would not pay so much as the *Patentees* assest them at, their goods and persons were seised on till they gave them satisfaction according to their voraginous humours. And they found out a new *Alchimi- stical* way to make Gold and Silver Lace, with Copper, and other *sophisticate materials*, to couzen and deceive the people; and no man must make, or vent any but such *Factors* as they employed, so that they ingrossed all the whole trade of that *Ages vanity* (which was enough) and gave them counterfeit ware for their money: And if any man were found to make any other Lace than what was allowed by them, they were made to know (to their dear experience) the power of these *Ingrossers*: And so poisonous were the *Drugs* that made up this deceitful *Composition*, that they rotted the hands and arms, and brought *lameness* upon those that wrought it; some losing their eyes, and many their lives by the *venom* of the *vapours* that came from it.

The chief *Actors* in this *Pestilent business*, were *Sir Giles Mompeyson*, and *Sir Francis Michel*: These two moved all the underwheels. *Mompeyson* had fortune enough in the Country to make him happy, if that *sphere* could have contained him, but the vulgar and universal error of *satiety* with present enjoynments, made him too big for a *rustical condition*, and when he came at Court, he was too little for that: So that some *Novelty* must be taken up, to set him (if he knew his own mind) in *Æquilibrio*

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1621.

The peoples  
grievances.

Mompeyson and  
Michel actors  
in them.



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1621.

The Parliaments goodness.

The Kings Speech to the Lords.

to the place he was in; no matter what it was, let it be never so pestilent and mischievous to others; he cared not, so he found benefit by it. To him *Michel* is made *Compartner*, a poor sneaking Justice, that lived among the *Brothels* near *Clerken-well*, whose Clark and he pickt a livelyhood out of those corners, giving Warrants for what they did, besides anniversary stipends (the frequent Revenue of some Justices of those times) for connivency. I know how necessary and how splendent it is for men of *publick minds* to flourish in the execution of *Justice*, for weeding out, and extirpating *vitious habits*, radicated in every corner; but this thing was a poisonous Plant in its own nature, and the fitter to be an Ingredient to such a Composition: Therefore he is brought to Court, Knighted, and corroborated by these Letters Patents, whereby he took liberty to be more ravenous upon poor people, to the grating of the *bones*, and sucking out the very *marrow* of their substance.

These oppressions were throughly ripped up, and laid open by the House of Commons. But together with these proceedings they took notice of the King's wants, and thought fit some thing to sweeten his temper, that they might not take from him the little profit he had by those Patents, but they would make it up some other way, therefore they gave him two intire Subsidies, which were very acceptable unto him: For those Contributions that flow from the peoples love, come freely like a Spring-tide; But illegal Taxes racked from their *bowels* (coming through so many Promoters and Catchpoles hands) run very low, and the King hath the least share.

The King hearing these Patents were anatomized in the House of Commons, and willing to comply with his people, whom he found so bountiful unto him, he comes to the House of Lords to close gently with them, and excuse the granting of those Patents, shewing some reasons why he did them, and the instructions he gave for the execution of them, by which he hoped to take off that sharp reflexion that might light upon him. But the modesty of Parliaments seldom impute any of these *miscarriages* to the Prince, but the *Actors* under him must bear the burthen of it. And the time drawing near that the Lords assigned for judging the *Malefactors*, the King comes again to the House upon the 26 of *March*, and thus passed his sentence upon the Patents, before the Lords should pass theirs upon the executioners of them.

*My Lords,*

“The last time I came hither, my errand was to inform you  
 “(as well as my memory could serve me of things so long  
 “passed) of the *verity* of my proceedings, and the *caution* used  
 “by me in passing those Letters Patents, which are now in *que-*  
 “*stion*



“*stion* before you, to the effect that they might not be abused in the execution: And this I did by way of *Declaration*. But now I am come (understanding the time of your *censure* at hand) to express my readiness to put in execution (which is the *life* of the *Law*) those things which ye are to *sentence* (for even the *Law* it self is a *dead Letter* without *execution*) for which office God hath appointed me in these Kingdoms. And though I assure my self that my former *behaviour*, in all the *course* of my life, hath made me well known for a just King; yet in this special case, I thought fit to express my own intentions, out of my own mouth, for punishment of things complained of. The first proof whereof I have given, by the diligent search I caused to be made after the person of Sir *Giles Mompeyson*, who though he were fled, yet my Proclamation persued him instantly: And as I was earnest in that, so will I be to see your *sentence* against him put in *execution*.

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“Two reasons move me to be earnest in the execution of what ye are to sentence at this time.

“First, That duty I owe to God, who hath made me a King, and tied me to the care of Government, by that *politick Marriage* betwixt me and my people: For I do assure you in the *Heart* of an honest man, and by the Faith of a *Christian King* (which both ye, and all the World know me to be) had these things been complained of to me before the Parliament, I would have done the office of a just King, and out of Parliament have punished them, as severely, and peradventure more than ye now intend to do. But now that they are discovered to me in Parliament, I shall be as ready in this way, as I should have been in the other. For I confess, I am ashamed (these things proving so as they are generally reported to be) that it was not my good fortune to be the only Author of the *Reformation*, and punishment of them, by some ordinary Courts of Justice. Nevertheless, since these things are now discovered by Parliament, which before I knew not of, nor could so well have discovered otherwise, in regard of that *Representative Body* of the Kingdom, which comes from all parts of the Country; I will be never a-whit the slower to do my part for the execution. For (as many of you that are here, have heard me often say, and so I will still say) So precious unto me is the *publick* good, that no *private person* whatsoever (were he never so dear unto me) shall be respected by me by many degrees as the *publick* good, not only of the whole Common-wealth, but even of a *particular Corporation*, that is a *Member* of it. And I hope that ye my Lords will do me that *right*, to publish to my people this my *heart* and *purpose*.

“The second Reason is, That I intend not to derogate or infringe, any of the Liberties, or Privileges of this House, but

“rather



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“rather to fortifie and strengthen them: For never any King  
 “hath done so much for the Nobility of *England* as I have done,  
 “and will ever be ready to do. And whatsoever I shall say, and  
 “deliver unto you as my thought, yet when I have said what I  
 “think, I will afterwards freely leave the Judgment wholly  
 “to your House. I know you will do nothing but what the like  
 “hath been done before, and I pray you be not jealous that I  
 “will abridge you of any thing that hath been used: For what-  
 “soever the *Precedents* (in times of good Government) can war-  
 “rant, I will allow. For I acknowledge this to be the *supreme*  
 “Court of Justice, wherein I am ever present by *Representation*.  
 “And in this ye may be the better satisfied by my own presence,  
 “coming divers times among you: Neither can I give you  
 “any greater assurance, or better pledge of this my purpose,  
 “than that I have done you the honor to set my only Son a-  
 “mong you, and hope that ye with him, shall have the means  
 “to make this the happiest Parliament that ever was in  
 “*England*.

“This I profess, and take comfort in, that the House of Com-  
 “mons at this time have shewed greater love, and used me with  
 “more respect in all their proceedings, than ever any House of  
 “Commons have heretofore done to me, or I think to any of my  
 “*Predecessors*. As for this House of yours, I have always found  
 “it respective to me, and accordingly do I, and ever did fa-  
 “vor you, as you well deserved. And I hope it will be ac-  
 “counted a happiness for you, that my Son doth now sit among  
 “you; who, when it shall please God to set him in my place, will  
 “then remember that he was once a Member of your House,  
 “and so be bound to maintain all your *Lawful Privileges*, and  
 “like the better of you all the days of his life. But because  
 “the World at this time talks so much of *Bribes*, I have just  
 “cause to fear the whole Body of this House hath bribed him to  
 “be a good Instrument for you upon all occasions: He doth so  
 “good Offices in all his Reports to me, both for the House in  
 “general, and every one of you in particular. And the like I may  
 “say of one that sits there, *Buckingham*; He hath been so ready  
 “upon all occasions to do good Offices, both for the House in  
 “general, and every Member in particular. One proof thereof,  
 “I hope, my Lord of *Arundel* hath already witnessed unto you,  
 “in his report made unto you of my answer touching the *Pri-*  
 “*viliges* of the Nobility, how earnestly he spake unto me of that  
 “matter.

“Now, my Lords, the time draws near of your *Recess*;  
 “whether *Formality* will leave you time for proceeding now  
 “to Sentence against all, or any of the persons now in *que-*  
 “*stion*, I know not. But for my part, since both Houses have dealt  
 “so lovingly, and freely with me, in giving me, as a free  
 “Gift,



" Gift, two Subsidies, in a more loving manner than hath been  
" given to any King before, and so accepted by me. And since  
" I cannot yet retribute by a *General Pardon*, which hath by  
" Form usually been reserved to the end of a Parliament: The  
" least I can do (which I can forbear no longer) is to do some-  
" thing in present, for the ease and good of my People. Three  
" Patents at this time have been complained of, and thought  
" great Grievances.

" 1. That of the Inns, and Hosteries.

" 2. That of Ale-houses.

" 3. That of Gold and Silver Thread.

" My purpose is, to strike them all *dead*, and that Time may  
" not be lost, I will have it done presently. That concerning  
" *Ale-houses*, I would have to be left to the managing of Ju-  
" stices of the Peace, as before. That of Gold and Silver  
" Thread was most vilely executed, both for wrong done to  
" mens persons, as also for abuse in the Stuff, for it was a kind  
" of false Coin. I have already freed the Persons that were in  
" Prison, I will now also damn the Patent, and this may seem  
" instead of a Pardon. All these three I will have recalled by  
" Proclamation, and with you to advise of the fittest Form to  
" that purpose.

" I hear also there is another Bill among you against *Infor-*  
" *mers*; I desire you, my Lords, that as you tender my *Honour*,  
" and the good of my *People*, ye will put that Bill to an end as  
" soon as you can, and at your next meeting to make it one of  
" your first works: For I have already shewed my dislike of  
" that kind of people openly in *Star-Chamber*, and it will be the  
" greatest ease to me, and all those that are near about me, at  
" *Court*, that may be. For I remember, that since the beginning  
" of this Parliament, *Buckingham* hath told me, he never found  
" such quiet and rest, as in this time of Parliament, from *Pro-*  
" *jecters* and *Informers*, who at other times miserably vexed  
" him at all hours.

" And now I confess, that when I looked before upon the  
" face of the Government, I thought (as every man would  
" have done) that the People were never so happy as in my  
" time. For even as at divers times, I have looked upon many  
" of my *Coppices*, riding about them, and they appeared on the  
" outside very thick, and well-grown unto me, but when I  
" turned into the midst of them, I found them all bitten with  
" in, and full of Plains, and bare Spots, like an Apple or Pear  
" fair and smooth without, but when ye cleave it asunder,  
" you find it rotten at the *heart*: Even so this Kingdom, the  
" external Government being as good as ever it was, and I am  
" sure, as learned *Judges* as ever it had, and I hope as *honest*, ad-  
" ministring *Justice* within it; and for *Peace* both at home, and  
" abroad,



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“abroad, I may truly say more settled, and longer lasting, than  
“ever any before, together with as great *Plenty* as ever; so as it  
“was to be thought, that every Man might sit in safety under his  
“own *Vine*, and *Figtree*: Yet I am ashamed (and it makes my  
“hair stand upright) to consider, how in this time my People  
“have been *vexed*, and *polled*, by the vile execution of *Projects*,  
“*Patents*, *Bills of Conformity*, and such like, which besides the  
“trouble of my People, have more exhausted their *purses* than  
“*Subsidies* would have done.

“Now my Lords, before I go hence, since God hath made  
“me the great *Judge* of this Land under him, and that I must an-  
“swer for the *justice* of the same, I will therefore, according to  
“my Place remember you of some things, though I would not  
“teach you; for no man’s *knowledge* can be so good, but their  
“*memories* will be the better to be refreshed. And now, because  
“you are coming to give *Judgment* (all which moves from the  
“the King) that you may the better proceed, take into your  
“*Care* two things.

“1. To do *Bonum*.

“2. To do it *Benè*.

“I call *Bonum*, when all is well proved, whereupon ye  
“judge, for then ye build upon a sure *Foundation*. And by  
“*Benè* I understand, that ye proceed with all *formality* and  
“*legality*; wherein you have fit *occasion* to advise with the  
“*Judges*, who are to assist you with their *Opinions*, in *Cases* of  
“that *Nature*, and woe be to them if they advise you not well.  
“So the ground being good, and the *form* orderly, it will prove  
“a *Course* fitting this High Court of *Parliament*.

“In *Sentence* ye are to observe two parts: First, to recollect  
“that which is worthy of Judging, and Censuring; And Se-  
“condly, to proceed against these, as against such like *Crimes*  
“properly. We doubt there will be many Matters before you,  
“some complained of out of *passion*, and some out of just Cause  
“of *grievance*: Weigh both, but be not carried away with the  
“impertinent Discourses of them, that name as well *innocent*  
“men as *guilty*. Proceed judicially, and spare none, where ye  
“find just Cause to punish: But let your Proceedings be ac-  
“cording to *Law*, and remember that *Laws* have not their *eyes*  
“in their *necks*, but in their *foreheads*. For the *Moral Reason*  
“for the punishment of *Vices* in all Kingdoms, and Common-  
“wealths, is, because of the breach of *Laws* standing in force;  
“for none can be punished for breach of *Laws* by *Predestination*,  
“before they be made.

“There is yet one particular that I am to remember you of;  
“I hear that Sir *Henry Tolverton* (who is now in the *Tower* upon  
“a *Sentence* given in the *Star-Chamber* against him for deceiving  
“my Trust) is touched concerning a Warrant *Dormant*, which



"he made while he was my *Attorney*: I protest I never heard  
"of this *Warrant dormant* before, and I hold it as *odious* a mat-  
"ter as any is before you. And if for respect to me ye have for-  
"born to meddle with him, in examination, because he is my  
"prisoner, I do here freely remit him unto you, and put him in-  
"to your hands.

"And this is all I have to say unto you at this time, wishing  
"you to proceed justly and nobly, according to the *Orders*  
"of your *House*: And I pray God to bless you, and you  
"may assure your selves of my assistance; Wishing, that what  
"I have said this day among you, may be entred into the *Re-*  
"cords of this *House*.

Thus the King strove to mitigate the asperity and sharpness  
of the *humors* contracted in the Body of the Kingdom, that they  
might not break out to disgrace the *Physician*: For he looked up-  
on himself as an able *Director*, and yet he found he might be de-  
ceived; And therefore he brings the Lords into a *Wood*, compa-  
ratively to tell them, that they appeared to him well grown, and  
fair, but searching into them he found them otherwise. But  
he that pretended to the knowledge of all things, (as give him  
his *due* he was well known in most) could not be ignorant that  
the Patents he granted were against the Liberties of the people,  
but whether the execution of them to that *extremity* came with-  
in his *Cognizance* cannot be determined; his *damning* of them  
shews his dislike at present, condemning that which he knew  
would be done to his hand, if he had not done it; and this must  
not be known only at *Westminster*, and left upon *Record* to *Pos-*  
*terity* there, but he commanded his *Speech* to be printed, that  
all his people might know, how willing and forward he was to  
abolish any *Act* of his that tended to a *grievance*. And though  
he did not accuse the Marquess of *Buckingham* for giving way to  
Informers, yet he was much troubled with them till the Parlia-  
ment began; and in that numerous crowd those that brought  
profit were doubtless admitted with the first. These considera-  
tions upon the King's Speech buzzed up and down, and many of  
the Parliament men looked upon the Marquess as the first mover  
of this great *Machine*; but the *Wisdom* of the House did not rise  
so high as to strike at the uppermost branches, but they pruned  
those roundly they could reach. *Buckingham*, though he were  
well grown, had not yet *sap* enough to make himself swell into  
*exuberancy*, as he did afterwards, nor was the peoples *malice*  
now against him so fertile, as to make every little weed, a dan-  
gerous and poysonous plant, being subtil enough (yet) to crop  
off any, that might appear *venomous* in relation to himself, that  
the *mischievous operations* might work upon others: For all the  
world knew *Monpeffon* was his creature, and that notwithstand-  
ing the King's Proclamation for his interception, he got out of  
the

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The King's  
Speech dis-  
canted on.

*Buckingham*  
Master of the  
Work.



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Michel censured.

The Lord Chancellor Bacon questioned.

the Kingdom by his Key : For *Buckingham* ruled as a Lord Paramount, and those that complied with him found as much refuge as his power could secure unto them ; those that opposed him, as much mischief as malice could pour upon them. Sir *Henry Trelverton* the King's Attorney had found the effects of his Anger, by not closing with his desires in such Patents as he required ; so that all his Actions being anatomized, some miscarriages are made criminal, he is committed to the Tower, and another put in his place that should be more observant. The King now lays upon him a Warrant Dormant, which did not much startle him ; for he was not long after released and made a Judge, carrying with him this character of honesty, That he was willing to lay down his preferment at the King's feet, and betrod upon by the growing power of *Buckingham*, rather than prosecute his Patron *Somerset* that had advanced him, as his Predecessor *Bacon* had spitefully done his. But whether that Dialogue betwixt *Buckingham* and *Trelverton* in the Tower, mentioned in our King's Court, have any thing of Truth, cannot be asserted here, *Buckingham* being not arrived yet to the Meridian height of his Greatness, though the King afterwards had cause enough to be jealous of his Actions.

But now comes the old Justice, Sir *Francis Michell*, to his Censure, and the crime he had committed arguing a base spirit, he is fitted with as suitable a punishment. First he is degraded, with all the ceremonies of debasement ; but that being most proper to his nature, he was but ealed of a burthen, his mind suffered not ; but then his kecksie carkass was made to ride Renvers with his face to the horse rail (with a paper on his breast and back, that pointed at the foulness of the cause) through the whole City, suffering under the scorn, and contempt of Boys, and rabble of the people, besides the squeezing of him by fine and confinement to prison, that he might never be more capable of mischief. The same sentence had Sir *Giles Mompesson*, but he was so provident as not to be found to pay it in his person, though he paid it in his purse. Some others also, their Instruments, though not so sharply dealt with, had great mulcts laid upon them according to their demerit, and so this Gangrene was healed up.

Not long after comes the great Lord Chancellor *Bacon* to a Censure, for the most simple, and ridiculous follies, that ever entred into the heart of a Wise man. He was the true Emblem of humane frailty, being more than a man in some things, and less than a woman in others. His crime was Bribery, and Extortion (which the King hinted at in his Speech, when he facetiously said, He thought the Lords had bribed the Prince to speak well of them) and these he had often condemned others for as a Judge, which now he comes to suffer for as a Delinquent : And they were proved, and aggravated against him with so many circumstances, that they fell very foully on him, both in relation to his Reception of them, and



and his expending of them: For that which he raked in, and scrued for one way, he scattered and threw abroad another; for his Servants, being young, prodigal and expensive Youths, which he kept about him, his Treasure was their common Store, which they took without stint, having free access to his most retired Privacies; and his indulgence to them, and familiarity with them, opened a gap to infamous Reports, which left an unfavoury Tincture on him; for where such Leeches are, there must be putrid blood to fill their craving Appetites. His gettings were like a Prince, with a strong hand; his expences like a Prodigal, with a weak head; and 'tis a wonder a man of his Noble, and Gallant Parts, that could fly so high above Reason, should fall so far below it; unless that Spirit that acted the first, were too proud to stoop, to see the deformities of the last. And as he affected his men, so his Wife affected hers: Seldom doth the Husband deviate one way, but the Wife goeth another. These things came into the publick mouth, and the Genius of the Times (where malice is not corival) is the great Dictator of all Actions: For innocency it self is a crime, when calumny sets her mark upon it. How prudent therefore ought men to be, that not so much as their garments be defiled with the sour breath of the Times!

This poor Gentleman, mounted above pity, fell down below it, His Tongue, that was the glory of his time for Eloquence, (that tuned so many sweet Harrangues) was like a forsaken Harp, hung upon the Willows, whilst the waters of affliction overflowed the banks. And now his high-flying Orations are humbled to Supplications, and thus he throws himself, and Cause, at the feet of his Judges, before he was condemned.

To the Right Honourable the Lords of the Parliament, in the Upper House assembled,

The humble Submission and Supplication of the Lord Chancellor.

May it please your Lordships,

"I Shall humbly crave at your hands a benign interpretation of that which I shall now write: for words that come from wasted spirits, and oppressed minds, are more safe, in being deposited to a noble construction, than being circled with any reserved caution.

"This being moved (and as I hope, obtained of your Lordships) as a protection to all that I shall say, I shall go on; but with a very strange Entrance, as may seem to your Lordships at first: for in the midst of a State, of as great affliction, as

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His Supplication.



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"I think a mortal man can endure (*Honour being above Life*)

"I shall begin with the professing of gladness in some things.

"The first is, That hereafter the greatness of a Judge, or Magistrate, shall be no sanctuary, or protection to him against guiltiness, which is the beginning of a golden work.

"The next. That after this Example, it is like that Judges will fly from any thing in the likeness of Corruption (though it were at a great distance) as from a Serpent: Which tends to the purging of the Courts of Justice, and reducing them to their true honour, and splendor. And in these two Points (*God is my witne(s)*) though it be my fortune to be the Anvil upon which these two effects are broken and wrought, I take no small comfort. But to pass from the motions of my heart, (whereof God is my Judge) to the merits of my cause, whereof your Lordships are Judges, under God and his Lieutenant; I do understand, there hath been heretofore expected from me some justification; and therefore I have chosen one only justification, instead of all others, out of the justification of Job. For after the clear submission and confession which I shall now make unto your Lordships, I hope I may say and justify with Job, in these words, *I have not hid my sin, as did Adam, nor concealed my faults in my bosom.* This is the only justification which I will use.

"It resteth therefore, that without Fig-leaves, I do ingenuously confess, and acknowledge, that having understood the Particulars of the Charge, not formally from the House, but enough to inform my conscience and memory, I find matter sufficient, and full, both to move me to desert my defence, and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me. Neither will I trouble your Lordships, by singling those Particulars, which I think might fall off. *Quid te exempla juvant spinis de pluribus Uva?* Neither will I prompt your Lordships to observe upon the proofs, where they come not home, or the scruple touching the credits of the Witnesses. Neither will I represent to your Lordships, how far a defence might in divers things extenuate the offence, in respect of the time, and manner of the guilt, or the like circumstances: But only leave these things to spring out of your more noble thoughts, and observations of the Evidence, and examinations themselves; and charitably to wind about the Particulars of the Charge, here and there, as God shall put into your minds, and so submit my self wholly to your piety and grace.

"And now I have spoken to your Lordships as Judges, I shall say a few words unto you as Peers and Prelates, humbly commending my Cause to your noble minds, and magnanimous affections.

"Your Lordships are not simply Judges, but Parliamentary Judges;



"Judges; you have a further extent of *Arbitrary Power* than  
"other *Courts*; and if you be not tied by ordinary course of  
"Courts, or *Precedents* in Points of *strictness* and *severity*, much  
"less in Points of *mercy* and *mitigation*. And yet if any thing  
"which I shall move, might be contrary to your *honourable* and  
"worthy end (the introducing a *Reformation*) I should not seek  
"it; but herein I beseech your Lordships to give me leave to  
"tell you a *Story*.

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"*Titus Manlius* took his Son's life, for giving *Battail* against  
"the prohibition of his *General*. Not many years after, the like  
"severity was pursued by *Papirius Cursor* the *Dictator*, against  
"*Quintus Maximus*; who being upon the point to be sentenced,  
"was by the intercession of some particular persons of the *Se-*  
"nate, spared. Whereupon *Livy* maketh this grave and gracious  
"observation, *Neque minus firmata est Disciplina Militaris, peri-*  
"culo *Quinti Maximi, quam miserabili supplicio Titi Manlii*;  
"The *Discipline of War* was no less established by the question-  
"ing of *Quintus Maximus*, than by the punishment of *Titus*  
"*Manlius*. And the same reason is in the *Reformation of Justice*:  
"For the questioning of men in eminent Places, hath the same  
"terror, though not the same rigour with the punishment. But  
"my Cause stays not there: for my humble desire is, that his Ma-  
"jesty would take the *Seal* into his hands, which is a great  
"downfall, and may serve I hope in it self for an expiation of  
"my faults. Therefore if *mercy* and *mitigation* be in your Lord-  
"ships power, and no way cross your Ends, why should I not  
"hope of your favour and commiseration? Your Lordships will  
"be pleased to behold your chief pattern, the King our Sove-  
"raign, a King of incomparable clemency, and whose heart is  
"inextinguishable for wisdom and goodness. And your Lordships  
"will remember, there sate not these hundred years before a  
"Prince in your House, and never such a Prince, whose pre-  
"sence deserveth to be made memorable by *Records, & Acts*, mixt  
"of *mercy* and *justice*. Your selves are either *Nobles* (and Com-  
"passion ever beareth in the veins of noble blood) or *Reverend*  
"*Prelates*, who are the Servants of him that would not break  
"the bruised Reed, nor quench the smoking Flax. You all sit upon  
"a high Stage, and therefore cannot but be sensible of the chan-  
"ges of humane conditions, and of the fall of any from high place.

"Neither will your Lordships forget, that there are *Vitia Tem-*  
"*poris*, as well as *Vitia Hominis*; and the beginning of *Reforma-*  
"*tion* hath the contrary power to the pool of *Bethesda*; for that  
"had strength to cure him only that was first cast in, and this  
"hath strength to hurt him only that is first cast in: And for my  
"part, I wish it may stay there, and go no further.

"Lastly, I assure my self your Lordships have a noble feeling  
"of me, as a *Member* of your own *Body*, and one that in this  
"very

Extortion and  
Bribery the  
Vices of the  
Times.



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His censure.

His descrip-  
tion and cha-  
racter.

"very Session, had some taste of your loving Affections, which I  
"hope was not a lightning before the death of them, but rather  
"a spark of that Grace, which now in the Conclusion will more  
"appear. And therefore my humble sute to your Lordships is,  
"That my penitent submission may be my sentence, the loss of  
"my Seal my punishment, and that your Lordships would re-  
"commend me to his Majestie's Grace and Pardon for all that is  
"past. God's holy Spirit be among you.

April 22. 1621. Your Lordships humble servant, and suppliant,  
Fran. St. Albans, Can.

Thus was his great spirit brought low, and this humiliation might have raised him up again, if his offences had not been so weighty as to keep him down. He lost his Peerage and Seal, and the Scale was wavering whether he should carry the Title of Viscount St. Albans to his grave, and that was all he did; having only left a poor empty being, which lasted not long with him, his honor dying before him. And to heighten his misery the more, many others were crushed to pieces by his fall; for he had a vast debt lay upon him, which they were forced to pay; and though he had a Pension allowed him by the King, he wanted to his last, living obscurely in his Lodgings at Grays-Inn, where his loneliness and desolate condition, wrought upon his ingenious, and therefore then more melancholy temper, that he pined away. And had this unhappiness after all his height of plenitude, to be denied Beer to quench his thirst: For having a sickly taste, he did not like the Beer of the house, but sent to Sir Fulk Grevil, Lord Brook, in neighborhood (now and then) for a bottle of his Beer, and after some grumbling, the Butler had order to deny him. So sordid was the one, that advanced himself to be called Sir Philip Sidney's friend, and so friendless was the other, after he had dejected himself from what he was.

He was of a midling stature; his countenance had indented with Age before he was old; his Presence grave and comely; of a high-flying and lively Wit, striving in some things to be rather admired than understood, yet so quick and easie where he would express himself, and his Memory so strong and active, that he appeared the Master of a large and plenteous store-house of Knowledge, being (as it were) Nature's Midwife, stripping her Callow-brood, and clothing them in new Attire. His Wit was quick to the last; for Gondemar meeting him the Lent before his Censure, and hearing of his Miscarriages, thought to pay him with his Spanish Sarcasms and Scoffs, saying, My Lord, I wish you a good Easter; And you my Lord, replied the Chancellor, a good Pass-over: For he could neither close with his English Buffoonry, nor his Spanish Treaty (which Gondemar knew) though he was so wise as publickly to oppose neither. In fine, he was a fit Jewel to have beautified, and adorned a flourishing Kingdom, if his flaws had not disgraced the lustre that should have set him off.

In



In this very time of Parliament, when the King carried all things with a full sail, the *Pilots* of the Commonwealth had an eye to the dangers that lay in the way; for in both Houses the King had a strong Party, especially in the House of Lords: All the Courtiers, and most of the Bishops steer'd by his Compass, and the Princes presence (who was a constant *Member*) did cast an awe among many of them, yet there were some gallant Spirits that aimed at the *publick Liberty* more then their own interest. If any thing were spoken in the House that did in the least reflect upon the Government, or touch (as the *Courtiers* thought) that *Noli me tangerè*, the Prerogative, those that moved in it were snapt up by them, though many times they met with stout encounters at their own Weapon; among which the Principal were, *Henry* Earl of *Oxford*, *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Spencer*, and divers others, that supported the *Old English Honour*, and would not let it fall to the ground.

*Oxford* was of no reputation in his youth, being very debauched and riotous, and having no means, maintained it by fordid and unworthy ways; for his Father hopeles of Heirs, in discontent with his Wife, squandred away a Princely *Estate*, but when she and his great *Fortune* were both gone, he married a young Lady of the ancient family of the *Trenthams*, by whom he had this young Lord, and two Daughters; she having a fortune of her own, and industry with it, after her Husband's death married her Daughters into two noble Families, the Earl of *Mountgomery* married the one, and the Lord *Norris*, after Earl of *Berkshire* married the other: And finding her Son hopeles, let him run his swing till he grew weary of it, and thinking he could not be worse in other Countries than he had been in his own, she sent him to travel, to try if change of *Air* would change his *Humour*. He was not abroad in *France* and *Italy* above three years, and the freedoms and extravagancies there (that are able to betray and insnare the greatest *modesties*) put such a bridle upon his inordinateness, that look how much before he was decried for a mean and poor *spirit*, so much had his noble and gallant comportment there gained, that he came over refined in every esteem; and such a Valuation was set upon his parts and merit, that he married the Lady *Diana Cecil*, Daughter to the Earl of *Exeter*, one of the most eminent Beauties and Fortunes of the time.

*Southampton*, though he were one of the King's Privy Council, yet was he no great *Courtier*; *Salisbury* kept him at a bay, & pinched him so by reason of his relation to old *Essex*, that he never flourished much in his time, nor was his *spirit* (after him) so smooth shod, as to go always the Court pace; but that

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now and then he would make a Carrier that was not very acceptable to them: for he carried his business closely and slyly, and was rather an Adviser than an Actor.

Essex had ever an honest Heart, and though Nature had not given him *Eloquence*, he had a strong reason that did express him better; his Countenance to those that knew him not appeared somewhat stern, and solemn, to intimates affable and gentle, to the Females obligingly courteous, and though unfortunate in some, yet highly respected of most, happily to vindicate the *Vertue* of the *Sex*. The King never affected him, whether from the bent of his *Natural* inclination to effeminate faces, or whether from that instinct or secret *Prediction* that *Divine* fate often imprints in the apprehension, whereby he did fore-see in him (as it were) a hand raised up against his *Posterity*, may be a *Notation*, not a determination: But the King never liked him, nor could he close with the Court.

Warwick, though he had all those excellent indowments of Body and fortune, that gives splendor to a glorious Court, yet he used it but as his *Recreation*; for his Spirit aimed at more publick adventures, planting Colonies in the *Western World*, rather than himself in the King's favour: his Brother Sir Henry Rich (about this time made Baron of Kensington) and he had been in their youths two emulous *Corrivals* in the publick affections, the one's brownness being accounted a lovely *sweetness* transcending most men, the other's features and pleasant aspect equalled the most beautiful Women, the younger having all the *Dimensions* of a Courtier, laid all the *Stock* of his *Fortune* upon that *Soil*, which after some years *Patience* came up with increase; but the Elder could not so stoop to observances, and thereby became his own Supporter.

Saye and Seale was a seriously subtil *Peece*, and always averse to the Court ways, something out of pertinaciousness, his *Temper* and *Constitution* ballancing him altogether on that *Side*, which was contrary to the *Wind*; so that he seldom tackt about or went upright, though he kept his *Course* steady in his own way a long time: yet it appeared afterwards, when the harshness of the humour was a little allayed by the sweet *Refreshments* of Court favours, that those stern *Comportments* supposed *natural*, might be mitigated, and that indomitable Spirits by gentle usage may be tamed and brought to obedience.

Spencer (like the old Roman chosen Dictator from his Farm) made the Countrey a vertuous Court, where his Fields and Flocks brought him more calm and happy contentment, than the various and mutable dispensations of a Court can contribute: and when he was called to the Senate, was more vigilant to keep the Peoples Liberties from being a prey to the



the incroaching power of *Monarchy*, than his harmless and tender Lambs from Foxes and ravenous Creatures.

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There were many other noble *Patriots* concentrique with these, which like Jewels should be preserved and kept in the Cabinet of every man's memory, being *Ornaments* for *Posterity* to put on; but their Characters would make the line too long, and the *Bracelet* too big to adorn this Story.

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About this time *Spencer* was speaking something in the House that their great Ancestors did, which displeased *Arundel*, and he cuts him off short, saying, *My Lord, when these things you speak of were doing, your Ancestors were keeping sheep,* (twitting him with his Flocks which he took delight in :) *Spencer* instantly replied, *When my Ancestors (as you say) were keeping sheep, your Ancestors were plotting Treason.*

Spencer and  
Arundel quar-  
rel.

This hit *Arundel* home, and it grew to some heat in the House, whereupon they were separated, and commanded both out of the House, and the Lords began to consider of the offence. There was much bandying by the *Court-Party*, to excuse the Earl of *Arundel*, but the heat and rash part of it beginning with him, laying such a brand upon a Peer that was nobly descended, he could not be justified, but was enjoined by the House to give the Lord *Spencer* such satisfaction as they prescribed; which his Greatness refusing to obey, he was by the Lords sent Prisoner to the Tower, and *Spencer* re-admitted into the House again.

Arundel com-  
mitted.

When *Arundel* was well cooled in the Tower, and found that no Power would give him Liberty, but that which had restrained him, (rather blaming his rashness, than excusing his stubbornness) his great Heart humbled it self to the Lords, betwixt a Letter and a Petition in these words.

To the Right Honourable, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Higher House of Parliament assembled.

May it please your Lordships,

Whereas I stand committed here by your Lordships Order, for having stood upon performing some part of that which was enjoined me by your Lordships; which I did rather in respect the time was short for advice, than out of any intent to disobey the House, for which I have suffered in this place till now: I do therefore humbly beseech your Lordships to construe of what is past, according to this my profession, and for the time to come to believe that I both understand so well your Lordships power to command, and your nobleness and tenderness to consider what is fit, as I do, and will wholly put myself upon your Honors, and perform what is, or shall be enjoined me. So be-

His Submission.



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*beseeching your Lordships to construe these lines, as proceeding from a heart ready to obey you in what you command, I rest*

Tower 2 June  
1621.

Your Lordships most  
humble Servant

*Thomas Arundle.*

Upon this submission the Lords commanded him to be sent for, and presenting himself at the Bar of the House, with the accustomed Humility that Offenders do, he thus expressed himself, *Because I have committed a fault against this House, in not obeying all the Order that your Lordships commanded me, I do here acknowledg this my fault, and ask your Lordships pardon for the same, and am ready to obey all your Lordships commands.*

Thus this great Lord (though he fluttered in the Air of the Court, and mounted by that means upon the Wings of Passion) was glad to stoop when consideration lured him to it, left by the heat that he himself made (melting the Waxen Plumes that he thought would have supported him) his suffering might have been a greater mischief to him than his submission: so four and severe a School-master's Passion, to be both Author and Punisher of our Errors: yea, making the best Natures (often) correct themselves most.

The Parlia-  
ment adjourn-  
ed.

The fourth of June this year the Parliament had a Recess, the King being to go his Progress, wherein some Lords, and others of the Parliament were to attend him: For it seems his business was not yet ripe for the Parliament, and he was loth they should have too much leisure, therefore they were not to meet again till the eighth of February following; which being a long time of Vacancy, the House of Commons before they parted took the *Miseries* of the *Palatinate* into serious debate; and though they felt the King's pulse, and knew the beat of his thought, when he spake of providing an Army this Summer for the recovery of it, and would engage his Crown, Blood, and Soul for it (finding him apt to say what he had no will to do) yet they were so wise as not to slacken or draw back in so good a work; that if there were a failing, it should not be on their side, knowing how much Religion was concerned in it (so to the appearance of Reason, the triumphing Emperor, and Universal King, would quickly tread all under foot) therefore with one voice (none daring to oppose) they made this Declaration.

The Commons  
Declaration.

**T**He Commons assembled in Parliament, taking into most serious consideration the present state of the King's Children abroad, and generally afflicted estate of the true Professors of the same Christian



Christian Religion, professed by the Church of England in Foreign Parts, and being touched with a true sence and fellow-feeling of their distresses, as Members of the same Body, do with unanimous consent, in the name of themselves and the whole Body of the Kingdom (whom they represent) declare unto his most excellent Majesty, and to the whole World, their hearty grief and sorrow for the same; and do not only joyn with them in their humble and Devout Prayers unto Almighty God, to protect his true Church, and to avert the Dangers now threatned, but also with one heart, and voice do solemnly protest; That if his Majestie's pious endeavours by Treaty, to procure their Peace and Safety, shall not take that good effect which is desired in Treaty, (wherefore they humbly beseech his Majesty not to suffer any longer delay) that then upon signification of his Majestie's pleasure in Parliament, they shall be ready to the utmost of their Powers, both with their lives and fortunes, to assist him so, as that by the Divine Help of Almighty God (which is never wanting unto those who in his fear, shall undertake the defence of his own Cause) he may be able to do that with his Sword, which by a peaceable Course shall not be effected.

The King took this Declaration of the Commons in very good Part, and meant when occasion served to make good use of it: For as he found them forward enough to begin a War, so he knew his own constitution backward enough (the Sword being in his Hand) and did fore-see an advantage arising from a Medium betwixt the Parliament and him, if he could bring his Ends about, which he after put in practice; but it broke all to pieces, and now away he goes on his Progress.

Towards Winter the Lord Digby returns from his soliciting journey in Germany; His first addressees he made to the Emperour, his second to the Duke of Bavaria, and his last to the Infanta at Brussels, and all to as little purpose as if he had stayed at home; that three-fold Cord, twisted by the power of Spain, was not easily to be broken. Some little twilight and scintil of Hope, was given him by the Emperour for restitution of the Palatinate, yet not so much as would discover the error of our easie belief: But the Bavarian had already swallowed the Electurate, and his voraginous appetite gaped after the possession of the Countrey, though the English there were bones in his way.

Digby being arrived at Court, and bringing him with doubtful answers from the Emperour, and sullen ones from the Duke of Bavaria, the King thought it good Policy to shorten the long Recess till February, and to re-assemble the Parliament the 20th of November, that meeting before their Time, it might more amaze them, and intimate some extraordinary Cause, which happily might produce some extraordinary effect if well managed. And as incident thereunto, he gave order to Digby as soon

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The King pleased with it.

Digby's return.



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His Relation to  
the Parliament

soon as the Parliament assembled, to make relation to the Houses of his proceedings there, which he did in these words.

**I** pleased his Majesty to command me to give you an account of my last Foreign Negotiation with the Emperour; who (you know) being much exasperated with the invasion of Bohemia (to which the King never gave encouragement in the attempt, nor countenance in the Prosecution) hath upon the advantage of his fortunate success there, invaded into the inheritance of his Son the Palatine: Whereupon I was directed by his Majesty's Commission to treat if Peace might be compassed with fair endeavours, to which the Emperour seemed very inclinable. Albeit, slow in giving Audience, by reason that the Diet in Germany was deferred, and he depended upon some answer from the Princes. But in conclusion, I received such satisfaction, as promised Restitution of the Palatinate, which only was granted by Commission to the Duke of Bavaria, until it was settled by absolute Peace, or further War. And being addressed by the Emperour with Letters to the Duke of Bavaria, wherein he wished his tractable condescend to all good Terms of Peace; Upon which occasion I urged, that I had Authority from the Count Palatinate, to cause the Count Mansfield to desist from War, and likewise from the King to his Body of War under the Government of Sir Horatio Vere. The Duke of Bavaria replied, That he had becalmed Mansfield with great sums of money, and when he is quiet, my Peace is made. To which scornful and slight reply something I answered, and departed to the Infanta to Brussels, who seemed to understand by the Emperour's Letters, that he did rather prepare for War then Peace, and would give no direct answer till she heard from the King of Spain, who I must ingenuously confess, hath stood clear a Neutral, according to his promise: Yet is he now so strong prepared for War (having at this instant five great Armies in motion) that it will not mis-become the wisdom of the State to fear the worst: And to conclude, such hath been the care of the King for his own Honour, and Son's Right, that he presumes you will cheerfully apply yourselves to the necessity of the Times, and this occasion; and not only afford him aid for his present support, but such further supply as may help to re-invest his Son into his inheritance.

Seconded.

Which Relation of Digbie's being seconded by some of the King's great Minister of State, (who had instructions suitable to their Errand) they let the Parliament know, how justly and necessary it was, and how forward the King would be to accomplish that by War, which he could not recover by Peace; and they set it off with all the slippery Oratory they could to draw in money; for that being the main ingredient, if that were provided, the rest of the simples would easily be purchased, to make up the Composition.

Thus



Thus the Kings suits and intreaties were slighted, and disregarded abroad; and his intentions suspected, and feared at home. *Princes* that do grasp *Possessions* with iron hands, will not be smoothed out of them by fair words; the Sword, as it is the best determiner, so it is the most honourable Treater: And though the King incited the *Parliament* by these his *Ministers* to contribute towards a War, yet they found his inclination bent towards *Peace*, both in respect of *Gondemar's* power with him (upon whose sandy promises he built a good *Foundation of Hope*) and in regard of some Letters which the King had lately written to the King of *Spain*, wherein great indulgencies were promised to the *Papists*, whereby they saw he was too much transported with a desire to the *Match*: And the King, finding *Digby's* indeavours fruitless in *Germany*, intended to send him into *Spain*, extraordinary Ambassador to that King whom he looked upon as the great *Wheel* that moved the others which way he pleased. For he was resolved to close some way with the House of *Austria*, either by Marriage or intreaty, to pece and make up the *Breach* the War had made. But the King had to do with cunning *Gamesters* that smiled to see how earnest he was at it, for they had the sign given out of his hand, and saw all the *Game* he played, so faithless was the Council about him!

The *English* in general, except *Papists*, were averse to this *Match*, as boding some evil event, because the *Papists* did prune themselves, flutter up and down, and spread their *Trains* so publickly: This almost universal averfation of the people had a *natural* influence upon the *Representative*, the *Parliament*; who considering that the King (by *Digby* and others) did inform them how *formidable* the King of *Spain* was, and did require them to apply themselves to the necessity of the Times, and further him with help to re-invest his Son in his *Inheritance*, thought there was no better means to be used than to try effectually the King's *Spirit*, and stir him up to a war; for so they should know which way their Money went, at leastwise his mind, before they tamely parted with it. And therefore (like wise *Physicians* that never prescribe letting blood, but when it tends to the health of the *Body*) first they shew the *Causes* of the *Distempers* and *Evils* that were to be feared. Secondly, what effects they were likely to produce. And lastly, the *Remedies* to prevent them, in this *Petition* and *Remonstrance*.

Most Gracious and dread Sovereign,  
VV E your Majestie's most humble and loyal Subjects, the  
Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees, now assembled in Par-  
liament, who represent the Commons of your Realm, full of h  
row

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The King pre-  
vails not a-  
broad nor at  
home.

The People  
and Parliament  
against the  
Match.

A Remon-  
strance of the  
House of  
Commons.



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sorrow to be deprived of the Comfort of your Royal Presence, the rather for that it proceeds from the want of your health, wherein We all unfainedly do suffer. In all humble manner calling to mind your gracious answer to our former Petition concerning Religion, which notwithstanding your Majesties pious and princely intentions, hath not produced that good effect, which the danger of these Times doth seem to us to require. And finding how ill your Majesties goodness hath been requited by Princes of different Religion, who even in time of Treaty, have taken opportunity to advance their own Ends, tending to the Subversion of Religion, and disadvantage of your affairs, and the Estate of your Children. By reason whereof your ill-affected Subjects at home, the Popish Recusants, have taken too much encouragement, and are dangerously increased in their Number, and in their insolencies. We cannot but be sensible thereof; And thereof humbly represent what we conceive to be the Causes of so great and growing Mischiefs, and what be the Remedies.

1. The Vigilancy and Ambition of the Pope of Rome, and his dearest Son, the one aiming at as large a Temporal Monarchy, as the other at a Spiritual Supremacy.
2. The Devillish Positions, and Doctrines, whereon Popery is built, and taught, with authority to their Followers, for advancement of their Temporal Ends.
3. The distressed, and miserable Estate of the Professors of true Religion in Foreign parts.
4. The disastrous Accidents to your Majesties Children abroad, expressed with rejoycing, and even with contempt of their Persons.
5. The strange Confederacy of the Princes of the Popish Religion, aiming mainly at the advancement of theirs, and subverting Ours, and taking the advantages conducing to that End, upon all Occasions.
6. The great and many Armies raised and maintained at the charge of the King of Spain, the chief of that League.
7. The expectation of the Popish Recusants of the Match with Spain, and feeding themselves with great hopes of the consequences thereof.
8. The interposing of Foreign Princes, and their Agents in the behalf of Popish Recusants, for connivence and favour unto them.
9. Their open and usual Resort to the Houses, and which is worse, to the Chappels of Foreign Ambassadors.
10. Their more than usual concourse to the City, and their frequent Conventicles, and Conferences there.
11. The education of their Children, in many several Seminaries, and Houses of their Religion, in Foreign parts, appropriated only to the English Fugitives.

12. The



12. *The Grants of their just forfeitures intended by your Majesty as a reward of service to the Grantees; but beyond your Majesties intention, transferred or compounded for, at such mean rates as will amount to little less than a Toleration.*

13. *The licentious printing and dispersing of Popish and seditious Books, even in the time of Parliament.*

14. *The Swarms of Priests and Jesuits, the common Incendiaries of all Christendom, dispersed in all parts of your Kingdom.*

And from these Causes as bitter Roots, we humbly offer to your Majesty, that we foresee, and fear there will necessarily follow very dangerous effects both to Church and State. For,

1. *The Popish Religion is incompatible with Ours in respect of their Positions.*

2. *It draweth with it an unavoidable Dependency on foreign Princes.*

3. *It openeth too wide a Gap for Popularity, to any who shall draw too great a Party.*

4. *It hath a restless Spirit, and will strive by these Gradations; if it once get but a Connivence, it will press for a Toleration; if that should be obtained, they must have an equality; from thence they will aspire to Superiority: And will never rest till they get a Subversion of the true Religion.*

The Remedies against these growing Evils, which in all humbleness we offer to your most excellent Majesty, are these,

1. *That seeing this inevitable Necessity is falln upon your Majesty, which no wisdom or providence of a peaceable and pious King, can avoid, your Majesty would not omit this just occasion, speedily and effectually to take your Sword into your hand.*

2. *That once undertaken upon so Honourable and just grounds, your Majesty would resolve to persue, and more publicly avow the aiding of those of our Religion in foreign parts, which doubtless would reunite the Princes and States of the Union, by these disasters disheartned and disbanded.*

3. *That your Majesty would propose to your self to manage this War with the best advantage, by a Diversion or otherwise, as in your deep judgment shall be found fittest, and not to rest upon a War in these parts only, which will consume your Treasure, and discourage your people.*

4. *That the bent of this War, and point of your Sword may be against that Prince (whatsoever Opinion of Potency he hath) whose Armies and Treasures, have first diverted, and since maintained the War in the Palatinate.*

5. *That for securing of our peate at home, your Majesty will be pleased to review the parts of our Petition formerly delivered unto your Majesty, and hereunto annexed, and to put it in execution by the care of choice Commissioners, to be thereunto especially appointed, the Laws already, and hereafter to be made for preventing of*

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Dangers by Popish Recusants, and their wonted evasions.

6. That to frustrate their hopes for a future Age, our most Noble Prince may be timely and happily married to one of our own Religion.

7. That the Children of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, and of others ill affected, and suspected in their Religion, now beyond the Seas, may be forthwith called home by your means, and at the charge of their Parents or Governours.

8. That the Children of Popish Reculants, or such whose wives are Popish Recusants, be brought up during their minority with Protestant Schoolmasters, and Teachers, who may sow in their tender years the seeds of true Religion.

9. That your Majesty will be pleased speedily to revoke all former Licences, for such Children and youth to travel beyond the Seas, and not grant any such licence hereafter.

10. That your Majesties learned Council may receive commandment from your Highness, carefully to look into former Grants of Recusants lands, and to avoid them if by Law they can; and that your Majesty will stay your hand from passing any such Grants hereafter.

This is the sum and effect of our *Humble Declaration*, which we (no ways intending to press upon your Majesties undoubted and *Regal Prerogative*) do with the fulness of our *Duty*, and *Obedience*, humbly submit to your most *Princely consideration*, the *Glory of God*, whose *Cause* it is; the *Zeal* of our true *Religion*, in which we have been born, and wherein (by *God's grace*, we are resolved to die, the safety of your Majesties person, who is the very life of your people, the happiness of your Children and *Posterity*, the *Honour* and good of the *Church and State* dearer unto us than our own lives, having kindled these *Affections*, truly devoted to your *Majesty*.

And seeing out of our *Duty* to your *Majesty*, we have already resolved to give at the end of this *Session* one entire *Subsidy*, for the present relief of the *Palatinate* only, to be paid in the end of *February* next, which cannot well be effected but by passing a *Bill* in a *Parliamentary course* before *Christmas*; We most humbly beseech your *Majesty* (as our assured hope is) that you will then also vouchsafe to give life by your Royal assent, to such *Bills* as before that time shall be prepared for your *Majesties Honour*, and the general good of your *People*. And that such *Bills* may be also accompanied (as hath been accustomed) with your *Majestie's* gracious *Pardon*, which proceeding from your own meer *Grace*, may by your *Highness's* direction be drawn to that *latitude*, and extent, as may best sort with your *Majesties* Bounty and Goodness. And that not only *Fellons*, and criminal offenders may take benefit thereof, but that your good *Subjects* may receive ease thereby. And if it shall so stand



stand with your good pleasure; that it may extend to the relief of the old *Debts* and *Duties* to the *Crown*, before the first year of your *Majesties* reign, to the discharge of *Alienations* without licence, and misusing of *Liveries* and *Oustre le main* before the first *summons* of this *Parliament*; and of concealed *Wardships*, and not suing of *Liveries* and *Oustre le mains*, before the twelfth year of your *Majesties* *Reign*. Which gracious favour would much comfort your good *Subjects*, and ease them from *Vexation*, with little loss or prejudice to your own profit.

And we by our daily and devout prayers to the *Almighty*, the great King of Kings, shall contend for a blessing upon our endeavours, and for your *Majesties* long and happy *Reign* over Us, *And for your Childrens children after you for many and many Generations.*

The King hearing that the house of Commons were hammering upon this *Remonstrance*, went to *Newmarket*, a cold and bleak *Air*, in as cold and bleak a *season*, pretending his health, but indeed to be further from the sound of that noise (which perpetually possessed his Ears) of the discontent of the *Commons* for the intended *Match* with *Spain*. And as the business grew up, he had intimation of it from his creatures in the *House*; for it vexed his *Popish* Secretary, Sir George Calvert, *Weston*, and others to find the *House* so bitter against their *Profession*, (though they were cunning *Underminers*, and put on a smooth face there) yet they aggravated the matter to the King with all the *Acrimony* they could, so far as to reflect upon particular persons, that were the most *Active* instruments in it.

And what is there in this *Remonstrance* (at such a time when the *Protestant Religion* was in danger of being extirpated) that put on so horrid a *Vizard* as to affright or exasperate the King? The Emperor had prevailed in *Germany*, the *Protestant Princes* either subdued, or acquiesced, and laid down their necks to the *Yoke*. The *Protestants* were persecuted in *France*, besieged and ruined by the youthful fury of *Lewis* the 13. And notwithstanding *Our King's* solicitations by Sir *Edward Herbert*, since *Baron* of *Cherbury*, his Resident *Ambassador* there, who (after his conflict with *Luynes* the youthful *Constable* of *France*, and Favourite to that King) being sent for home, the *Viscount Doncaster* was sent again into *France*, upon one of his mediating employments, who also followed that King from *Camp* to *City*, and from *City* to *Camp*, with as little success, this being no journey of *Bravery*, for it almost cost him his life there by a tedious sickness.

*Rochel* and *Montaban* were besieged at one time this very year, *Rochel* by the Count of *Soissons*, and the Duke of *Guise*,

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The King vexed at it.

The Protestant Religion in danger.



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Fairfax.

and *Montaban* by the King, a great distance one from another ; but *Doncaster* could prevail for neither, yet the *French King* did not do his work. When man hath vented all his malice, he can go no further than the line God hath set him. One sad story intervenes which had a various Countenance, mixt with bravery and baseness, so that it was doubtful which was most prevalent. One *Hicks* an *English-man* undertook to carry a Letter from *Rochel* to *Montaban*, through both Armies, to let them know the good State and Condition of the *Rochellers* were in (maugre the fury and violence of their Enemies) that those of *Montaban* might be encouraged to hold out against the King's assaults. *Hicks* makes a clear passage through the Army before *Rochell*, and came to *Thoulouse*, where the Viscount *Doncaster* was, there he consorted with the *English*, insinuating with a young Gentlemen, one *Fairfax*, of that noble Family in *York-shire*, who was for that journey one of the Lord Ambassador's Train, and *Hicks* finding him willing (being a young and gallant Spirit) to see the Kings League at *Montaban*, they rode thither together, and under the notion of being of the Ambassador's retinue, they had free admittance to view all the Works, and Avenues. *Hicks* whose eye was fixt upon his opportunity to fly into the Town, made use of *Fairfax* to take his advantage with the least Suspicion, and in the instant of time, puts Spurs to his Horse, and got into the Town through a Shower of Bullets, leaving *Fairfax* (astonish'd at the attempt) to be wrackt and tormented to death (as he was by the *French* fury) to confess what he never knew, so that *Hicks* his bravery deserves a brand of infamy, and *Fairfax* his innocency a memorial of pity. A noble Spirit must not dare to do a gallant action an unworthy way.

Our King a  
King of  
Peace.

But our King's intentions aiming at Peace, he took as he thought the best way to it, which was, to intreat for it: but that would not prevail, for the voice of intreaty cannot be heard for the Trumpet. In War, one noise must expel another. The Parliament saw the danger the Protestant Religion was in (*For in many Councillors there is wisdom*) and thought it their duties to let the King see how inclinable they were to support the falling Condition of it with their lives and fortunes; But the King would be called *Rex Pacificus* to the last; His heart was not advanced to glorious Achievements, God will not (many times) make use of some men to do great things by them. The Parliament did not desire to make this a War for Religion only, though they saw it suppressed; for so all *Popish Princes* (which, was the King's fear) might have combined against him: But though the true end was Religion, the outward aim was to hinder the Progress of the victorious *Spanish* Power, which was likeliest to do most mischief. Many times the



the Divine Goodness puts an opportunity, as a price into *Mens* hands, which if they fail to make use of, redounds to their *Prejudice*. If the King's spirit had been raised up to a War, when the voice of God (the voice of the people) called him to it, happily it might have hindred the great *Effusion* of Blood amongst our *Selves*, that happened after in his Son's time: But he was not the Man, the Work was reserved for *Gustavus*, not *Jacobus*, and these Conflicts of our Kings formerly, and at this time with his people (alienating their affections) did not only leave sad impressions upon their *Spirits*, of rancour, and malice against *Monarchy*, but taught his *Successor* the *Pattern* of breaking *Parliaments*, and contesting with his Subjects, till ruin succeeded to him and his *Posterity*.

But when this Remonstrance was brought to perfection, the King had a Copy of it before the House had time to send their *Messengers* with it; in which, something so highly displeased him, that he instantly dispatched a Letter to the *Speaker* of the House of Commons to forbid the sending of it.

To Our Trusty and Wellbeloved, Sir Thomas Richardson Knight,  
Speaker of the House of Commons.

Mr. Speaker,

**W**E have heard by divers Reports, to our great grief, that Our distance from the Houses of Parliament (caused by Our indisposition of health, hath imboldned some fiery and Popular Spirits of some of the House of Commons, to argue and debate publickly of Matters far above their reach and capacity, tending to Our high dishonour, and breach of Prerogative Royal. These are therefore to command you to make known in Our Name unto the House, that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with any thing concerning Our Government, or deep Matters of State, and namely not to deal with our dearest Son's Match with the Daughter of Spain, nor to touch the Honour of that King, or any other our Friends or Confederates. And also not to meddle with any mans particulars, which have their due motion in our ordinary Courts of Justice. And whereas we hear they have sent a Message to Sir Edwin Sandis, to know the Reasons of his late restraint, you shall in Our Name resolve them, that it was not for any misdemeanor of his in Parliament; But to put them out of doubt of any question of that Nature, that may arise among them hereafter, you shall resolve them in Our Name, That We think Our self very free and able to punish any man's misdemeanors in Parliament, as well during their sitting as after: which we mean not to spare hereafter upon any occasion of any man's insolent behaviour there, that shall be ministered unto Us. And if they have already touched any of these points, which We have here forbidden in any Petition of theirs, which is to be

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Letter to the  
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be sent unto Us, it is our pleasure that you shall tell them, that except they reform it before it come to our hands, We will not deign the hearing nor answering of it. This was the effect of the Letter.

Dated at Newmarket,  
Decem. 3. 1621.

When the House had duly and weightily considered the just Reasons they had to draw up this Remonstrance, in discharge of their Consciences and duties to God, and the King, and found how fruitless their labours were. Having (as it were) cast out one Anchor in a tempestuous season which would take no hold, they were forced to cast out another, that both together might better fasten on the King's good affections: Therefore they framed this following Petition, and sent the Remonstrance with it, hoping yet to save the beaten Bark of the Commonwealth from ruin in so great a time of danger. And thus they address themselves to their great Pilot.

Most dread and gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your most humble and loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses assembled in the Commons House of Parliament, full of grief and unspeakable sorrow, through the true sense of your Majesties displeasure expressed by your Letter lately sent to Our Speaker, and by him related and read unto Us; Yet comforted again with the assurance of your Grace and Goodness, and of the sincerity of our own intentions and proceedings, whereon with confidence we can rely, in all humbleness beseech your most excellent Majesty, that the Loyalty and Dutifulness of as faithful and loving Subjects as ever served, or lived under a gracious Sovereign, may not undeservedly suffer, by the mis-information of partial and uncertain Reports, which are ever unfaithful Intelligencers: but that your Majesty would in the clearness of your own Judgment, first vouchsafe to understand from Our selves, and not from others, what our humble Declaration and Petition (resolved upon by the Universal Voice of the House, and proposed with your Gracious favour to be presented unto your Sacred Majesty) doth contain. Upon what Occasion we entred into Consideration of those things which are therein contained, with what dutiful respect to your Majesty, and your Service, we did consider thereof, and what was our true intention thereby. And that when your Majesty shall thereby truly discern our dutiful Affections, you will in your Royal judgment free us from those heavy Charges, wherewith some of our Members are burthened, and wherein the whole House is involved.

And we humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will not hereafter give Credit to private Reports against all, or any of the Members of our House whom the whole have not censured, until your Majesty have been truly informed thereof from our selves, and that in the mean time,

The Parliaments Petition.

The King's Letter to the Speaker.



time, and ever, we may stand upright in your Majesties Grace and good Opinion, than which no worldly consideration is, or can be dearer unto us.

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When your Majesty had reassembled us in Parliament, by your Royal Commandment, sooner than we expected, and did vouchsafe by the mouths of three honourable Lords, to impart unto us the weighty occasions moving your Majesty thereunto; And from them we did understand these particulars.

That notwithstanding your Princely and Pious indeavours to procure Peace, the time is now come that Janus Temple must be opened.

That the Voice of Bellona must be heard, and not the Voice of the Turtle.

That there was no hope of Peace, nor any Truce to be obtained, no, not for a few days.

That your Majesty must either abandon your own Children, or engage your self in a war, wherein Consideration is to be had, what foot, what horse, what money would be sufficient.

That the Lower Palatinate was seized upon by the Army of the King of Spain, as Executor of the Ban there, in quality of Duke of Burgundy, as the Upper Palatinate was by the Duke of Bavaria.

That the King of Spain at his own Charge had now at least five several Armies on foot.

That the Princes of the Union were disbanded, but the Catholick league remained firm, whereby those Princes so dissevered, were in danger one by one to be ruined.

That the Estate of those of the Religion in Foreign parts was miserable. And,

That out of these Considerations we were called to a war, and forthwith to advise for a Supply, for keeping the forces in the Palatinate from disbanding, and to fore-see the means for raising and maintaining the body of an Army for the war against the Spring. We therefore out of our Zeal to your Majesty and your Posterity, with more alacrity, and celerity, than ever was preceded in Parliament, did address our selves to the Service commended unto Us. And although we cannot conceive, that the honor and safety of your Majesty, and your posterity, the patrimony of your Children, invaded and possessed by their Enemies, the welfare of Religion, and State of your Kingdom, are matters at any time unfit for our deepest consideration in time of Parliament. And though before this time we were in some of these points silent, yet being now invited thereunto, and led on by so just an occasion, we thought it Our Duties to provide for the present supply thereof, and not only to turn our eyes on a war abroad, but to take care for the securing of our peace at home, which the dangerous increase, and insolency of Popish Recusants, apparently, visibly, and sensibly did lead us unto. The consideration whereof



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An humble  
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whereof did necessarily draw us truly to represent unto your Majesty what we conceive to be the Causes, what we feared would be the effects, and what we hoped might be the remedies of these growing Evils. Among which, as incident and unavoidable, we fell upon some things which seem to touch upon the King of Spain, as they have relation to Popish Recufants at home, to the Wars by him maintained in the Palatinate against your Majesty's Children, and to his several Armies now on foot; yet as we conceived without touch of dishonour to that King, or any other Prince your Majesty's Confederate.

In the discourse whereof we did not assume to our selves any power to determin of any part thereof, nor intend to incroach or intrude upon the Sacred bounds of your Royal Authority, to whom, and to whom only, we acknowledg it doth belong to resolve of Peace and War, and of the Marriage of the most noble Prince your Son. But as your most Loyal and humble Subjects, and Servants, representing the whole Commons of your Kingdom (who have a large interest in the happy and prosperous estate of your Majesty, and your Royal Posterity, and of the flourishing Estate of our Church and Common-wealth) did resolve out of our Cares and Fears, truly and plainly to demonstrate these things to your Majesty, which we were not assured could otherwise come so fully and clearly to your knowledge, and that being done, to lay the same down at your Majesties feet, without expectation of any other answer of your Majesty touching these higher points, than what at your good pleasure, and in your own time should be held fit.

This being the effect of that we had formerly resolved upon, and these the occasions and reasons inducing the same, our humble suit to your Majesty, and confidence is, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to receive at the hands of these our Messengers our former humble Declaration, and Petition, and to vouchsafe to read, and favourably to interpret the same. And that to so much thereof, as containeth our humble Petition concerning Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recufants, the passage of Bills, and granting your Royal Pardon, you will vouchsafe an answer unto us.

And whereas your Majesty by the general words of your Letter seemeth to restrain us from intermeddling with matters of Government, or particulars which have their motion in the Courts of Justice; the generality of which words in the largeness of the extent thereof, (as we hope beyond your Majesties intention) might involve those things, which are the proper Subjects of Parliamentary occasions and discourse.

And whereas your Majesty doth seem to abridge us of the ancient liberty of Parliament for freedom of Speech, Jurisdiction, and just Censure of the House, and other proceedings there (wherein we trust in God we shall never transgress the bounds of loyal and dutiful Subjects) a liberty which we assure our selves so wise and so just



just a King will not infringe, the same being our ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance received from our Ancestors without which we cannot freely debate, nor clearly discern of things in Question before us, nor truly inform your Majesty; in which we have been confirmed by your Majesties most gracious former Speeches and Messages: We are therefore now again inforced in all humbleness to pray your Majesty to allow the same, and thereby to take away the doubts and scruples your Majesties late Letter to your Speaker hath brought upon us.

So shall we your Loyal and loving Subjects ever acknowledge your Majesties justice, grace and goodness, and be ready to perform that service to your Majesty, which in the true affection of our hearts we profess, and powre out our dayly and devout prayers to the Almighty for your Majesties long life, happy and religious Reign, and prosperous Estate, and for your Royal posterity after you for ever.

The Parliament thought it strange that the King in a *Recess* should call them together before the appointed time of meeting, pretending *Emergent occasions*, and (by his *Ministers of State*) persuade and incite to a War, and when (in obedience to this command) they shall pryceed in their advice, only to provent the dangers abroad, and establish security at home, they shall be accounted presumptuous and insolent. But by this they discover, (and which the King plainly expresses in his Answer) that he required none of their advice, he wanted only their money, if they had furnished him with that instead of *Counsel*, it would have been a golden *Remonstrance*. They are to be his *Bank*, his *Merchants*, he needs no other directions, let them find money he knows how to dispose of it. This was the great fault, which this *Petition* strives to mitigate, accompanied with the *Remonstrance* it self, and the *Petition* against *Recusancy*, for both which it was an intercessor, but it could not with all its humility procure acceptance for its *Companions*, though sent by twelve select *Members* of the *House*, and the leading man *Sir Richard Weston* (who was really the King's) chosen by the *Commons* to make their *Petitions* the more acceptable. And the *House* finding it a great discouragement to them to proceed in any business, when there was so great a distance betwixt the *King* and them, (the *King* thinking their actions an intrenchment upon his *Prerogative*, and they thinking the King's expressions an infringement of their *Liberties*) they resolved to give over all business, till they had an Answer of their *Petitions*; for they thought they had as good do nothing, as have that they do undone again. Which the *King* hearing of was vexed at the heart, and entertained their *Messengers* very roughly; and some say he called for twelve *Chaires*

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for

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The King wanted money, not advice.



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The King's  
Answer.

for them, saying, here are twelve *Kings* come to me. But after he had considered their desires in their last *Petition* (rejecting the others) he returns them this answer to all.

**W**E must here begin in the same fashion that we would have done, if your first *Petition* had come to our Hands, before we had made a stay thereof, which is to repeat the first words of the late Queen of famous memory, used by her in answer to an insolent Proposition, made by a Polonian Embassador unto her, that is, Legatum expectabamus, Heraldum accipimus. For we had great reason to expect that the first Message from your House should have been a Message of thanksgiving for Our continued gracious behaviour towards our People since your last Recess. Not only by our Proclamation of Grace, wherein were contained six or seven and thirty Articles, all of several points of Grace to the people, but also by the labour we took for the satisfaction of both Houses in those three Articles recommended unto Us in both their names by the right Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of Canterbury, and likewise for the good Government of Ireland we are now in hand with at your request. But not only have We heard no news of all this, but contrary, great complaints of the Danger of Religion within this Kingdom, tacitly implying Our ill Government in this point. And we leave you to judge, whether it be your Duties, that are the Representative Body of Our People, so to distaste them with Our Government, whereas by the contrary, it is your Duty with all your indeavours to kindle more and more a dutiful and thankful Love in the peoples hearts towards us for our just and gracious Government.

Now whereas in the very beginning of this your Apology, you tax Us in fair terms of trusting uncertain Reports, and partial informations concerning your Proceedings; We wish you to remember that we are an old and experienced King, needing no such lessons, being in our conscience, freest of any King alive from hearing or trusting idle Reports, which so many of your House as are nearest Us, can bear witness unto you, if you would give as good ear to them, as you do to some Tribunitial Orators among you. And for proof in this particular: We have made your own Messengers confer your other Petitions sent by you with the Copy thereof, which was sent Us before, between which there is no difference at all, but that since our receiving the first Copy, you added a Conclusion unto it, which could not come to our hands, till it was done by you, and your Messengers sent, which was all at one time. And if we had had no Copy of it before hand, we must have received your first Petition to our great dishonour, before we had known what it contained, which would have inforced us to have returned you a far worse answer than now we do. For then your Messengers had returned with nothing, but that We have judged your Petition unlawful and unworthy of an answer.

For



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For as to your Conclusion thereof, it is nothing but Protestation contraria facto, for in the body of your Petition you usurp upon Our Prerogative Royal, and meddle with things far above your reach, and then in the Conclusion you protest the contrary; as if a Robber would take a mans purse, and then protest he meant not to rob him. For first you presume to give Us your advice concerning the Match of Our dearest Son with some Protestant, we cannot say Princes, for we know none of these fit for him, and dissuade us from his Match with Spain, urging us to a present War with that King, and yet in the conclusion, forsooth, ye protest ye intend not to press upon our most undoubted and Regal Prerogative; as if the petitioning of Us in matters that your selves confess ye ought not to meddle with, were not a meddling with them.

And whereas ye pretend that ye were invited to this course by the Speeches of three honourable Lords, ye say so much as your selves repeat of the Speeches, nothing can be concluded but that We were resolved by War to regain the Palatinate, if otherwise We could not attain unto it. And you were invited to advise forthwith upon a Supply for keeping the Forces in the Palatinate from disbanded, and to fore-see the means for the raising and maintaining of the Body of an Army for that War against the Spring. Now what inference can be made upon this? That therefore we must presently denounce War against the King of Spain, break our dearest Son's Match, and Match him to one of Our Religion, Let the world judge! The difference is no greater, than if we would tell a Merchant that We had great need to borrow money from him for raising an Army, that thereupon it should follow, that We were bound to follow his advice in the Directions of the War, and all things depending thereupon. But yet not contenting your Selves with this excuse of yours, which indeed cannot hold Water, ye come after to a direct contradiction to the conclusion of your former Petition, saying, that the Honor and Safety of Us and Our posterity, and the patrimony of our Children invaded, and possessed by their Enemies, the welfare of Religion, and State of Our Kingdom, are matters at any time not unfit for your deepest considerations in Parliament. To this generality, We answer with the Logicians, That where all things are contained, nothing is omitted. So as this plenipotency of yours invests you in all power upon Earth, lacking nothing but the Popes to have the Keyes also both of Heaven and Purgatory. And to this vast generality of yours, we can give no other Answer, for it will trouble all the best Lawyers in the House, to make a good Commentary upon it. For so did the Puritan Ministers in Scotland, bring all kind of Causes within the compalls of their Jurisdiction, saying, That it was the Churches Office to judge of Slander, and there could no kind of crime or fault be committed, but there was a slander in it, either against God, the King, or their Neighbour, and by this means they hooked into themselves the



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Cognitance of all Causes. Or like Bellarmin's distinction of the Popes power over Kings, in ordine ad Spiritualia, whereby he gives them all Temporal Jurisdiction over them.

But to give you a direct Answer to the matter of Warr, for which you are so earnest: We confess, we rather expected you should have given Us thanks for the so long maintaining a settled peace in all Our Dominions, when as all Our neighbours about are in miserable combustion of War. But Dulce Bellum inexpertis. And we indeed find by experience that a number of Our Subjects are so pampered with Peace, as they are desirous of Change, though they know not what.

It is true that We have ever professed (and in that mind with God's grace we will live and die) that We will labour by all means possible either by Treaty, or by force, to restore Our Children to their ancient Dignity and Inheritance; And whatsoever Christian Princes, or Potentates, will set themselves against it, We will not spare any lawful means to bring Our so just and Honourable purpose to a good end. Neither shall the match of Our Son or any other Worldly respect be preferred to this Our Resolution. For by Our Credit, and intervention with the King of Spain, and the Arch-Dutchess, and her Husband now with God, We preserved the lower Palatinate one whole year, from any further Conquering in it, which in any eight daies space in that time, might have easily been swallowed up by Spinola's Army, without any resistance; And in no better Case was it now at our Ambassadour the Lord Digbies coming through Heildeburgh, if he had not extraordinarily succoured it.

But because We conceive that ye couple this War of the Palatinate with the cause of Religion, We must a little unfold your eyes herein. The beginning of this miserable War, which hath set all Christendom on fire, was not for Religion, but only caused by our Son in Law, his hasty and rash Resolution, following evil Counsel, to take to himself the Crown of Bohemia: And that this is true, himself wrote Letters unto Us at that time, desiring Us to give assurance both to the French King and State of Venice, that his accepting of the Crown of Bohemia, had no reference to the Cause of Religion, but only by reason of his right of Election (as he called it.) And We would be sorry that that aspersion should come upon our Religion, as to make it a good pretext for dethroning of Kings, and usurping their Crowns. And we would be loth that our people here should be taught that Doctrine; No, let us not so far wrong the Jesuits, as to rob them of their sweet Positions, and Practice in that point. And upon the other part, We assure Our self so far of your Charitable thoughts of Us, that We would never have Constantly denied Our son-in-law both the Title and Assistance in that point, if We had been well persuaded of the Justice of his Quarrel. But to conclude, this unjust usurpation of the Crowns of Bohemia and Hungaria from the Emperour, hath given the Pope, and all that party



too fair a ground, and opened them too Wide a Gate, for Curbing and oppressing of many thousands of our Religion in divers parts of Christendom.

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And whereas you excuse your touching upon the King of Spain, upon occasion of the incidents by you repeated in that place, and yet affirm that it is without any touch to his Honour, We cannot wonder enough that ye are so forgetful, both of your Words and Writs: For in your former Petition ye plainly affirm, that he affects the Temporal Monarchy of the whole Earth, then which there can be no more malice uttered against any great King, to make all other Princes and Potentates both envie and hate him. But if ye list, it may be easily tried, whether that Speech touched him in Honour or not: if we shall ask him the Question, whether he means to assume to himself that Title or no? For every King can best judge of his own Honour. We omit the particular ejaculations of some foul mouthed Orators in your House, against the Honour of his Crown and State.

And touching your excuse of not determining any thing concerning the Match of our dearest Son, but only to tell your opinions, and lay it down at Our feet: First, We desire to know how you could have presumed to determine in that point without Committing of high Treason. And next you cannot deny, but your talking of his Match after that manner, was a direct breach of Our commandment, and Declaration out of Our own mouth, at the first sitting down of this Parliament, where we plainly professed, that we were in treaty of his Match with Spain, and wished you to have that Confidence in our Religion, and Wisdom, that We would so manage it as Our Religion should receive no prejudice by it. And the same We now repeat unto you, professing that We are so far engaged in that Match, as we cannot in Honour go back, except the King of Spain perform not such things as we expect at his hands: And therefore We are sorry that ye should shew to have so great Distrust in Us, or to conceive that We should be cold in our Religion: otherwise We cannot imagine how Our former public Declaration should not have stopt your mouths in this point.

And as to your Request, That We would now receive your former Petition, We wonder what could make you presume, that We would not receive it; whereas in our former Letter, We plainly declared the Contrary unto you, and therefore we have justly rejected that suit of yours. For what have you left un-attempted in the Highest points of Sovereignty in that Petition of yours, except the striking of Coin? For it contains the violation of Leagues, the particular way how to govern a War, and the Marriage of our dearest Son, both Negative with Spain, nay with any other Popish Princess. And also Affirmatively, as to the Matching with one of Our Religion; which We confess is a strain beyond any Providence or Wisdom God hath given Us, as things now stand.

These



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False play justly rewarded.

Wars good to prevent wars.

*These are unfit things to be handled in Parliament, except your King should require it of you; For who can have Wildom to judge of things of that Nature? but such as are daily acquainted with the particulars of Treaties, and of the Variable or fixed Connexion of Affairs of State, together with the knowledge of the secret ways, ends, and intentions of Princes, in their several Negotiations: otherwise a small mistaking in matters of this Nature may produce more effects than can be imagined. And therefore Ne sutor ultra crepidam. And besides the intermeddling in Parliament with matters of Peace, or War, and Marriage of Our dearest Son, would be such a diminution to Us, and to Our Crown in forraign Countries, as would make any Prince neglect to treat with Us, either in matters of Peace or Marriage, except they might be assured by the assent of Parliament. And so it proved long ago with a King of France, who upon a trick procuring his States to dissent from some Treaty, which before he had made, was after refused treating with any other Princes, to his great reproach, unless he would first procure the Assent of his Estates to their Proposition. And will you cast your eyes upon the late Times, you shall find that the late Queen of Famous memory, was humbly petitioned by a Parliament to be pleased to marry: But her Answer was, that she liked their petition well, because it was simple, not limiting her to place or person, as not besitting her liking to their Fancies, and if they had done otherwise, she would have thought it a high presumption in them. Judge then what We may do in such a Case? having made our public Declaration already (as we said before) directly contrary to that which you have now petitioned.*

*Now to the points in your Petition, whereof you desire an answer as properly belonging to the Parliament. The first and the greatest point is that of Religion, concerning which at this time We can give you no other answer than in the General, which is, that you may rest secure, that We will never be weary to do all we can for the propagation of Our Religion, and repressing of Popery. But the manner and form you must remit to Our care and providence, who can best consider of Times and Seasons; not by undertaking a public War of Religion through all the World at once; which, how hard and dangerous a task it may prove, you may judge. But this puts Us in mind how all the World complained the last year of plenty of Corn, and God hath sent Us a cooling Card this year for that heat. And so We pray God that this desire among you of Kindling Wars (shewing your weariness of Peace and Plenty) may not make God permit Us to fall into the miseries of both. But as we already said, Our care of Religion must be such, as on the one part We must not by the hot persecution of Our Recusants at home, irritate forraign Princes of contrary Religion, and teach them the way to plague the Protestants in their Dominions, whom with We daily intercede, and at this time principally for ease to them of Our profession*



profession, that live under them. Yet upon the other part, We never mean to spare from due and severe punishment any Papist that will grow insolent, for living under Our so mild Government. And you may also be assured, We will leave no Care untaken, as well for the good Education of the youth at home, especially the Children of Papists, as also for preserving at all times hereafter the youth that are or shall be abroad, from being bred in dangerous places, and so poisoned in Popish Seminaries. And as in this point, namely, concerning the good Education of Popish youth at Home, We have already given some good proofs both in this Kingdom, and in Ireland, so will We be well pleased to pass any good Laws that shall be made, either now, or any time hereafter to this purpose.

And as to your request of making this a Session, and granting a general pardon, it shall be in your Defaults, if We make not this a Session before Christmas.

But for the Pardon, ye crave such particulars in it, as We must be well advised upon, lest otherwise we give you back the double or treble of that we are to receive by your entire Subsidy, without Fifteens. But the ordinary course We hold fittest to be used still in this Case, is, that We should of our free grace send you down a Pardon from the higher House, containing such points as We shall think fittest, wherein we hope ye shall receive good satisfaction.

But We cannot omit to shew you how strange we think it, that ye should make so bad and unjust a Commentary upon some words of our former Letter, as if we meant to restrain you thereby of your ancient privileges and liberties in Parliament. Truly a Scholler would be ashamed so to misplace, and mis-judge any Sentences in another Mans book. For whereas in the end of our former Letter We discharge you to meddle with matters of Government and Mysteries of State, namely, Matters of War or Peace, or our dearest Sons Match with Spain; by which particular denominations, We interpret, and restrain Our former words: And then after We forbid you to meddle with such things as have their Ordinary course in Courts of Justice: yet couple together those two distinct Sentences, and plainly leave out these words, Of Mysteries of State; so as ye err, à bene divisis ad malè coniecta. For of the former part concerning Mysteries of State, We plainly restrained our meaning to the particulars that were after mentioned. And in the latter we confess we meant it by Sir Edward Cook's foolish business. And therefore it had well become him, especially being Our Servant, and One of Our Counsel to have complained unto Us, which he never did, though he was ordinarily at Court since, and never had access refused unto him.

And although We cannot allow of the stile, calling it, Your Ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, but could rather have wished that ye had said, That your Privileges were derived from the Grace, and permission of our Ancestors and Us

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Us (for most of them grow from *Precedents*, which shews rather a toleration than inheritance) yet we are pleased to give you Our Royal assurance, that as long as you shall contain your selves within the limits of your Duty, we will be as careful to maintain, and preserve your lawful Liberties and Privileges, as ever any of Our Predecessors were; nay, as to preserve Our own Royal Prerogative. So as your House shall only have need to beware to trench upon the Prerogative of the Crown; which would enforce Us, or any just King to retrench them of their Privileges that would pare his Prerogative and Flowers of the Crown. But of this We hope there shall be never cause given. This was the effect of the King's Answer, which was dated at *New-market* the 11. of December 1621.

The King and  
People Com-  
petitors.

Thus the King acted his part, and though his answer might be the Result of his thoughts, yet it was some transcendent Cause that put it into Words, for his Nature was apt enough to fear the Sound of its own impressions. But now his Spirit was mounted, either the breach of the Treaty with Spain, or the Breach (as he thought) upon his Prerogative gave wing, to raise his Anger higher than his fear. Princes that never knew how to obey, ride their Passions with a loose rein, and are easiest carried by that impulsions. The Prince and the People are here Competitors, both jealous of encroachments, both striving to prevent them. Liberty is a power that gives a well being, and life to the People. Power is a liberty that Princes take to be the very life of their Being. Kings are like the Sea, and the people like the land, the industry of the one striving with the Piles, and Banks of good laws, and Precedents, to bound the often-spring-tides, and over-flowing of the other. In Scotland the Land was high, Rocky, and inaccessible for his Waves though never so boisterous; Here he finds a smooth Shore, and the people as tame in their obedience, as they were in their sufferings, which makes him the bolder with them.

Discourses  
upon the Kings  
Answer.

But the Parliament (weighing the King's answer by the Balance of Reason, not Passion) found that there was little for them to do. For how is this a mixt Government, when Kings do what they please? They Call their People to a Parliament, where the three Estates are said to be the mixt Government, but what is their great Errand? to get Money. If they touch upon miscarriage in Government, it disparages him to his people, (for now the inside of his Copses are well grown again.) If upon Religion, he knows well enough how to order that, if the Treaty with Spain goes on. And for the affairs of State, he seems to imply as if there were some hidden and secret Art in those Mysteries of King-craft, that the Parliaments apprehension cannot reach. For, who can have wisdom (saith he) to judge of things

of



of that Nature, but those that are traded in them? Every man in his Profession! So the Priests by their old Oracles did strive to keep the World in ignorance, as the Romish Factors do now. Whereas the true way of Treaties is with Christian, not Machiavelian policy. This we require, this answer we expect, you shall have this Retribution from Us. If you go about to cozen and cheat Us by delays, and spin out time for ends, such Syrens must not be listened after. Every State must stand upon the foundation of its own Reason and Power, and not build Castles of paper-Hopes upon deceitful promises, unless there be such redundant Causes of dependency upon them, as it is impossible to subsist without them. It was observed by Comines, that in all Treaties betwixt the English and the French, the English ever had the worst; but in all Wars and Conflicts, the English had the better: intimating that Subtlety may deceive, but plain down-right Honesty is best, and will prevail. Falseness is fit for such spirits as Pope Alexander, or his Nephew, Caesar Borgia. Scipio, though a Heathen in his pactions with Spain and Carthage, scorned it; and the old Roman Senate were so Gallant, as to rebuke Lucius Marcius, their Ambassador and General, because in the managing of his Wars and Treaties, with Perseus King of Macedon, he went about by subtilties to circumvent him. And now an Ambassador (as one saith) lyes abroad, Reipublica causa, for the good of his Countrey, which tends rather to the hurt of it.

But now they find that the King would only make Merchandize of the Common-wealth, yet Merchants look for their Money again with advantage, and therefore their Counsel in disposing it may be well feared. But the Parliament if they raise Money from the People (which is never to be repayed) there is good reason they should know not only to what purpose it is levied, but how prudently and fitly laid out: otherwise as the King tells them in the comparison of the Robber (though in relation to his Prerogative) if they should be summoned to levy Money of the people without consideration of what it is for, or how it shall be disposed for the good of the Kingdom, they may very well say and protest, That they meant not to take it from them so; that is, not to rob them of it. But the King's necessities must come under the Common Emergencies, which he would not have known; and what will one Subsidy without fifteens do? The Protestants want in the Palatinate, so doth he in England. But he had lately a great assistance from his People, never King of England found greater love, (as he saith of himself) yet he wants still, and would have supply for it under the notion of a War. They must consider what Money is fit, what Foot, what Horse necessary, but they must not know for what. All that they can imagine, is, that the

B b

King

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The Parliament the Kings Merchants.



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*King* wants Money for his *Favourite Buckingham*, and his kindred, to furnish them against *Christmas*, for feasting, gaming, and bravery, the three main pillars of the *Times* licentiousness, raised up to a stupendous and excessive height, or to send out his *Ambassadors*, or help his indigent and expensive Courtiers, and then the Wars are ended; for *Want* is a great *War*. But if the good of the Kingdom, the establishment of *Religion*, the happiness of the King and his *Posterity* be not fit Themes for them to discourse of, why are they called?

The late *Queen* (whose *memory* will be for ever famous) by the King's own relation liked the *Parliaments Petition* well, when they humbly besought her to marry, because they did not prescribe her *place* and *person*, but left that to her *Election*, if they had done otherwise, *She* would have thought it presumption in them. The King thinks it presumption in the *Parliament*, humbly to beseech him (for the good of *Religion*) to permit his Son to marry with a *Protestant Princess*, if they had fixt upon *place* or *person*, he would have thought it High Treason. So many degrees high was the King's spirit mounted above a *Woman's* to humble *Subjects*, and so many degrees lower then *Hers* was his *Spirit* to daring *Enemies*.

Some of these things were publickly discoursed of among them in the *House*, and other some muttered and talkt of in private (*for full breasts will find vent*) but the main business that the *Commons* insisted on, was the King's incroachment upon their *Liberties*, debarring them *freedom of speech in Parliament*, which was a Natural, Reasonable, and uncontroll'd immunity, as long as they kept themselves within the limits of their duty, which the *House* was to be the sole judge of. And who can tax any particular *Member* with *miscarriages* that way, that the house hath not Censured hitherto? for now the heat is but new broke in among them, and this liberty of speech stuck most with them; for if any man should speak any thing to displease the King (though it tended never so much to the good of the Kingdom) it might be termed insolent behaviour, and be liable to *punishment* after *Parliament* (if not then) as the King threatens in his Letter; which carried such a Terror and over-awing with it, that they resolved to give over all business, lest they should offend. Which the King hearing of, writes again to his *Secretary, Calvert*, and the *Speaker*, to take off the edge of those sharp expressions he used in his Letters, thinking to cool the heat among them.

But before this heat was in the *House of Commons*, the Lords began to consider how cheap they were made by the multitude of *Irish*, and *Scotch* Earls and Viscounts, the King had accumulated, not the Natives of those *Kingdoms*, but private

*English*

The higher  
House offend-  
ed.



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*English* Gentlemen, who had procured, and assumed those Titles, to perch above the *English* Baronry, to their great regret and dishonour. And after some debate, and canvassing in it, they resolved, That though they could not debar the King from making such swarms of *Nobles* with *Outlandish* Titles, yet they would let him know what prejudice it was to them, and if it produced no other good effect, the King might at least see they took offence, and were not well pleased with it, which made them present him with this *Petition*, thus *Subsigned*.

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## The Humble Petition of the Nobility of England.

**T**hat whereas your Majesty at the importunity of some natural Subjects of this Realm of England, hath been pleased to confer upon them, Honours, Titles, and Dignities, peculiar to other your Majesty's Dominions, by which all the Nobility of this Realm, either in themselves, their Children or both, find they are prejudiced. Our humble desire is, that with your gracious allowance, we may challenge, and preserve our Birth-rights; And that we may take no more notice of these Titulars to our Prejudice, than the Law of this Land doth, but that we may be excused, if in civil courtesie, we give them not the respect or place, as to Noblemen strangers, seeing that these being our Country Men, born and inheritanced under our Laws, their families and abode among us, have yet procured their Translation into foreign names, only to our injury.

They Petition.

But in this address to your Sacred Majesty, it is far from Us to meddle with, much less to limit, or interpret the Power of your Sovereignty, knowing that your Majesty (being the Root whence all Honour receives Sap, under what Title soever) may collate what you please, upon whom, when, and how you please; Wherefore in all humbleness We present this to your gracious view, confident of your Majesties equal favour herein.

- |                  |                  |               |
|------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1. Oxford.       | 12. Willoughbie. | 23. Paget.    |
| 2. Huntington.   | 13. Sheffeld.    | 24. Russell.  |
| 3. Essex.        | 14. Windsor.     | 25. Gerrard.  |
| 4. Lincoln.      | 15. Gray.        | 26. Dudley.   |
| 5. Dorset.       | 16. Wentworth.   | 27. Hunsdon.  |
| 6. Salisbury.    | 17. Mordant.     | 28. Denny.    |
| 7. Warwick.      | 18. Scroop.      | 29. Spenser.  |
| 8. Abergavennie. | 19. Cromwell.    | 30. Haughton. |
| 9. Dacres.       | 20. Sturton.     | 31. Stanhope. |
| 10. Darcie.      | 21. Howard.      | 32. Say.      |
| 11. Stafford.    | 22. St. John.    | 33. Noell.    |

Thus we see the *Errors* of *Princes*, are sometimes put into the *Scale*, and they bring with them so much trouble and vexation

The King angry.



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tion, that they often weigh down their *Glory* and *Happiness*; for no man can feel the load and burthen of it, but he that wears a *Crown*. The King was *conscious* to himself that he had done these Noblemen injury, especially the *Barons*, to advance their inferiours above them, for a little profit either to himself or his *Courtiers*. And if he had not heard of this *Petition* before, such a Troop of attendance together might have startled him, but being prepared for it, he mustered up his *Spirits*, thinking it too great an abasement for *Majesty* to stoop at their *Summons*, being so publick an *Action*; or to lesson or recall what he had done. Yet he was troubled, not knowing what *quarrels* the strife for *place* and *precedency* might produce; or what ill blood the discontent of so many of the *Nobility* at one time might ingender: Therefore he sent for them all, or the most eminent and leading men of them, some days after, and expostulated the *business* with them, one by one, in private, knowing he could deal best with them so, beginning with some of them roughly, yet still he closed with them at last, his anger being (as it were) raised to make them humble, and reconcile themselves to him, that he might the better reconcile himself to them: And to the Earl of *Essex* he vented this Expression, *I fear thee not Essex, if thou wert as well beloved as thy father, and hadst forty thousand men at thy heels*. Which words he uttered as if he had chid himself that they made an escape from him. And though this *Petition* did not derogate from the *Dignity* of those *creations* past, yet the King willingly restrained himself for the time to come.

The Commons  
discontent.

But the *House of Commons* found the *King's Letters* to entangle the way rather than make a free passage to their *Liberties*, for that which was their birth-right would now come to be derived from his *Ancestors*. And for all the King's finenesses they thought *Religion* very *unsecure*: for as long as the bent of his *Affections* tended to the *Spanish match*, there must needs be a *wide Gap* open as an inlet to *Popery*; and if it may be made *Treason* for his *Parliament* to advise him from it, they saw but a very small door left open to liberty. But whatsoever befell them, they resolved to leave to *posterity* some prints and footsteps of their *Parliamentary Rights* and *Privileges*, lest them by their great *Ancestors*, that though they could not preserve them intire, those that succeed them might at least find some *Reliques*, and ruins of what they had; Which made them make this *Protestation* recorded in their *Journal Book*, 19. Dec. 1621.

Their Prote-  
station.

THE Commons now Assembled in Parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry *Liberties*, *Franchises*, and *Privileges* of Parliament, among others here mentioned, do make this *Protestation* following. That the *Liberties*, *Franchises*, *Privileges*,



*Privileges, and Jurisdictions of Parliament, are the ancient and undoubted Birth-right, and inheritance of the Subjects of England, And that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the King, State, and defence of the Realm, and of the Church of England, and the Maintenance, and making of Laws, and redress of Mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects, and matter of Counsel, and debate in Parliament. And that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every Member of Parliament hath, and of right ought to have freedom of Speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring to Conclusion the same. And that the Commons in Parliament have likewise liberty, and freedom to treat of these Matters, in such order as in their judgments shall seem fittest. And that every Member of the said House hath like Freedom, from all impeachment, imprisonment, and Molestation, (other then by censure of the house it self) for, or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters, touching the Parliament, or Parliament business. And that if any of the said Members be complained of, and questioned for any thing done, or said in Parliament, the same is to be shewed to the King, by the advice and assent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the King give credence to any private information.*

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The King's trouble increases.

The King was again *Alarm'd* by this *Protestation*, and he that naturally loved *Peace*, both at home and abroad, found a loud War in his own breast, which indeed was in effect raised by himself, for no wisdom could resolve the *Intricacies* of his *Resolutions* but his own; for he would have a War with the *Emperor* in *Contemplation*, and a *Treaty* with the King of *Spain* in *Action*, both at one time, who were (as it were) one person; and because the *Parliament*, like wise *Mathematicians*, would use the *Practical* part as well as the *Theory*, he was enraged against them, and his *Prerogative* stept in as a stickler, and broke out like an *Exhalation*, in thundring, and terror, to the *Astonishment*, and fear of his people, which made them shrowd themselves from those storms, by creeping under the *Shelter* of their *Native liberties*. And now the King flies from his hot and intemperate *Region*, to soom cool *Considerations*. If he should yield by *Silence*, or *Connivence* to this *Protestation*, it would remain as an impregnable *Bulwark* for the people to *Posterity*. And what is this terrible thing? their just *Liberties*. If he should oppose it with *Rigor*, it might produce such an intestine *Division* at home, as with all industry he strove to prevent abroad. Break the *Treaty* with *Spain* he would not, his *Heart* was too much set upon it, for he could find no *Protestant Princess* good enough, the high and elated *Extraction* of *Kings*, will raise the people up to a kind of *Adoration* (as the old *Greeks* did the *Race* of their *Gods* and *Heroes*.) Whereas true *Honesty*



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The Parli-  
ment is dis-  
solved.

A Proclama-  
tion against  
talking.

Set peoples  
tongues a-  
work.

sty and piety, finds out such matches as may as well bring *Glory* to God as to man, not worldly blessings only, but heavenly also. Lose the love of the people he was loth, for he thought his peaceable *Reign* gained upon them, and that no King had ever deserved better of a People than he. But *Peace* is a kind of *Soft Rayment*, or *Masking-dress*, not always to be worn; *Standing lakes* beget *Corruption*. The *Pool of Bethesda* had no *Virtue* till it was stirred. *War* is necessary as *Physick* for unsound *Bodies*. *Iustum id bellum quibus necessarium.*

When the King had weighed every particular scruple, by the Ballance of his own *Reason*, and *Council* about him, he took a *Resolution* to dissolve the *Parliament*; which he did, by *Proclamation* the sixth of *January*, being fifteen days after the *Protestation* was made, so much time he measured out by the *Scale of consideration*, before he would pull down such a *Structure of Love* as never was built by the people for any of his *Predecessors*, which he implies in his *Proclamation*: laying there all the blame upon the *House of Commons*, and not on them in general, but on some ill-tempered *Spirits* (as he called them) that sowed *Tares* among the *Corn*, and frustrated the *Hopes* of a plentiful *Harvest*. Striving by these imputations to take away the *Odium*, that such a *Dissolution* might produce.

The *Parliament* (and consequently the *Union* between the King and People) being thus dissolved, every man's tongue is let loose to run *Riot*. And though the King loved *Hunting* above all other exercises, and had many good *Hunters* about him, yet all those, and the *Strength* of a *Proclamation* (put out to forbid talking of *State Affairs*) could not restrain them from mouth-ing out: That *Great Britain* was become less than little *Eng-land*; that they had lost strength by changing *Sexes*, and that he was no King but a *Fidler's Son*, otherwise he would not suffer such disorders at home, and so much dishonour abroad. So dangerous it is for *Princes* by a flegmatick remissness, to slacken the ligaments of the peoples tongues for such an overflux of bad *Humor* may bring their obedience to a *Paralytick*! And the *Story of David Ricinus* written by the King's own *Tutor*, *Buchanan*, had died in every *English Opinion*, if it had not had a new *Impression* by these miscarriages.

And they say further, why should he assume to himself the *Title of Defender of the Faith*, that suffers the *Protestants* of *Ger-many* and *France*, to be extirpated. That he might almost have purchased such a *Country* as the *Palatinate*, with the *Money* spent on *Ambassages*; And that his promising the *French Pro- testants* assistance (by their *Agents* that interceded for them) made them the more resolute, and confident to their *Ruine*: So that they might well call *England*, the *Land of promise*. And all that he got by his lip-labour assistance from the *French King*, was,



was, that his Ambassador Sir *Edward Herbert* was snapt up by *Lynes* the young Constable and favorite there; *With what hath your Master to do with us and our business?* Whereas the *English Fleets* the glory of the *World* (if employed) would have taught the *French pride* to know that a looker on sees more than the *Gamester*, and he that strikes with passion will many times thank them that take him off by friendly admonition; such discourses as these flew up and down from lip to lip, that it was almost *Treason* to hear, much more to speak.

The Earl of *Oxford* was betrayed, and accused by one *White* a *Papist*, (who was vulgarly called after in derision, by the Name of *Oxford-White*) to have spoken some words to the *Dishonour* of the King, and disparagement of his Government, and was committed to the *Tower*. The Earl of *Southampton* was also committed to the *Dean of Westminster*. *Oxford* lay by it a great while, and being an *Active* man, the King sent him at last to Sea, to be one of *Buckingham's Vice-Admirals* for the *English Coast*, while Sir *Robert Mansell* guarded the *Coasts of Spain* from being infested with the *Turks of Algier*, and *Sally*. Sir *Edward Cook* that was looked upon as one of the great incendiaries in the *House of Commons* is put from the *Council Table* with disgrace. The King saying, he was *the fittest instrument for a Tyrant that ever was in England*. And yet in the *House* he called the *King's Prerogative*, a great *Over-grown Monster*. And how can these agree. Unless because the *King* would not take his counsel, he hanged himself on the other side. But whether the King had cause to say the one I know not, but he (it seems) found cause enough to say the other.

Sir *Thomas Crew*, Sir *Dudly Digges*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, and Sir *James Perrot*, men of great *Repute*, and knowledge, active in the *House*, were sent into *Ireland*, and joyned with others in *commission*, to inquire into *Misdemeanors* committed there, but (it was thought) as a punishment for what they had committed here, for they were long detained from their own occasions, under the colour of an honorable employment; And Sir *Peter Hammon* of *Kent* and others, were sent into the *Palatinate*. This kind of punishment beginning now to be in *fashion*, and not long after this, Sir *John Savile*, the Knight of *Yorkshire*, that carried all the Country at a *Beck*, and a powerful *Man* in the *House*, is taken off by the *King*, made *Comptroller* of his *Household*, a *Privy Councillor*, and not long after a *Baron*, so the *King* found out two ways of silencing those that were able to do him mischief. *Active Spirits* that come too near him, must either come nearer to him, or be sent further from him, which he doubts not will take off the edge, and bate the sharpness of the *Humor* another time. And these preferments and punishments were also practised by his successor with this *Experiment*

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Oxford and Southampton committed.

Sir Ed. Cook in disgrace.

Some punished, some preferred.



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The King  
dishonoured  
abroad.

ment in both, that the most popular men, as soon as they wore the Court Livery, lost the love of the people; but those that suffered for them, were the more beloved and admired by them. *The Commons of England having more than an ordinary Genius to support and strengthen the pillars of their Liberties.*

And as these Troubles bred disturbance at home, so they begot discredit abroad, for now (by this Breach) they undervalued the King's power as much as they did before his Spirit: yea, even in the King of Spain's own Towns (whilst this beloved Treaty was in heat) they in their Comedies presented Messengers bringing News in haste, That the Palatinate was like to have a very formidable Army shortly on foot: For the King of Denmark would furnish him with a hundred thousand pickel Herrings, the Hollanders with a hundred thousand Butter-boxes, and England with a hundred thousand Ambassadors. And they picture the King in one place with a Scabberd without a Sword. In another place with a Sword that no body could draw out, though divers stand pulling at it. At Brussels they painted him with his pockets hanging out, and never a penny in them, nor in his purse, turned upside down. In Antwerp they pictured the Queen of Bohemia like a poor Irish Mantler, with her hair hanging about her ears, and her child at her back, with the King her father carrying the Cradle after her; and every one of these Pictures had several Motto's expressing their Malice. Such Scorns and Contempts were put upon the King, and in him on the Whole Nation.

And now the Treaty goes on amain. The Lord Digby is sent into Spain extraordinary Ambassador. To relate the manner of whose entertainment after his arrival there, it may not be impertinent: for by it may be discovered the Course-grain of Spanish civility, and how much our Ambassador went against the hair then, though happily the way may be smother now.

He landed at St. Andero in Biscay, a poor Maritime Town, where the people for the most part go all barefoot: and there his Lordship had the patience to stay a Fortnight expecting the Court civilities, which were then upon remove from Madrid to Lerma (being part of the way to St. Andero) without any intention to meet his Lordship. When his expectations were tired with attending their Formalities, he sent his Secretary, Simon Digby, to Madrid, to be a Solicitor to the Duke of Lerma (who then bore the sway) that he might have his first Audience at Lerma. And after some waiting time (though he had Our King's Agent, Mr. Cottington, for his Assistant) he was returned with a Spanish shrug, That the King would by no means admit of his desire, because he knew the Ambassador came about business, and he went to Lerma only for pleasure.

This



This was a *Rub* in his Lordship's way, and being impatient till it were removed, he sent again to Court a second *Petition*, which was to be presented with all the power *Cottington* could make, and his importunity got the upper hand of the *Spanish Resolution* (though much against their minds) that he might come to *Lerma*; for which his Lordship was so elevated in his spirits, that he pleased himself in an endeavouring way to express, *That the King of Spain would not have done this favour to any Ambassador, but the King of England's; nor to any that our King should have sent, but himself.* And it may be partly true, for none (it is hoped) would have begg'd it so shamefully as he did; for there was no business to be expected; that must be turned into feasting and jollity; and if he had not hunted after the *King of Spain for the favour*, they would have let *Don Juan*, (as they called him) dance attendance at *Madrid* till all their Sports at *Lerma* had been finished. For all his *Train* (many of them *Knights*, and *Gentlemen*, of good quality) murmured to see him so sleighted by the *Spaniard*; that being known to be a whole month in the Countrey, he had not the least message or civility from the Court; which extraordinary miscarriage, would have put any but an *Extraordinary Ambassador* out of countenance. But his Lordship made *Bonne mine*, and pleased himself with the great favours he should receive at *Lerma*, and so came forward to *Burgos*, which is within twenty English miles of *Lerma*: And though the Court had been a Fortnight at *Lerma*, yet there was no more news of his Reception at *Burgos*, than if he had been still at *St. Andero*.

And now his Lordship fearing they would wholly neglect him, thought it his best course to send *Cottington* (who met him at *Burgos*) to *Lerma*, to learn what their pleasure was to do with him; who returning brought word, that the next day he should have advice what Order would be taken. And accordingly one of the *Duke of Lerma's* Secretaries sent a poor fellow with a Letter, that the next day (being Sunday) there should be two Coaches sent, to bring his Lordship on Tuesday following to *Villa Manza* (a Village a mile short of *Lerma*) where his Lodgings should be ready, and the *King's Harbingers* attending to prepare all things with Diligence. This gave new life to his Lordship's spirits; the Coaches came according to the time, and to *Villa Manza* they went, every man furnished in his best accoutrements, hoping to see the Court that night: But they only found a pitiful, poor, ragged Village; where, enquiring for the Lord Ambassador's house, the honest Country people told them, surely they were mistaken, they knew of no house, nor *Harbinger*, nor what they meant; being as much amazed at the strange questions of the English, as they had cause to be at their strange Entertainment.

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The English roamed up and down the Town, and could discover no house fit for the Ambassador to go into, so that he was forced to sit in the Coach, and sent *Walsingham Greisley* in all haste to *Lerma*, to know how he should be disposed of: *Greisley* returned, and told the Ambassador, They were all so busie in seeing a Play, that he could not come to speak with any man that understood any thing relating to his Lordship. Which so distracted him, that he began to doubt whether *Villa Manza* were the place, and it begot a new Scrutiny, but the Scruple was quickly removed, by finding *Villa Manza* in the Letter, in very legible characters. And now he could no longer dissemble like an Ambassador, but supplying with impatience what he wanted in Authority, commanded the Coachmen in a very hasty manner to drive back to *Burgos*, which they very punctually refused; whereupon his Lordship leapt out of the Coach, and in a great Choller mounted on Horseback, crying to his Company, Away. The Coachmen seeing him resolute, and fearing to lose their Reward, told his Lordship, They would venture a Chiding to do him service, which dismounted him again, and he entered the Coach, but before the wheels turned about, his mind changed, and by some little whispering advice of *Cottington's* he now determined to tarry there all night: So that after sitting still four hours in a Coach, he made a worse choice, entering into a poor Cottage, where bare walls, and want of such fitting furniture as helps Nature's weariness, might tell his Lordship that the Commons of England stand on a better foundation than wooden shoes. Yet the Owner of this house welcomed his Lordship with as much gravity as if it had been a well provided Castle; so that there was little pleasure to be taken to hear one so over-furnished with words, that had such empty rooms.

But now news was brought that a Harbinger was come, who said there was a house, and all things provided, so that his Lordship composed his countenance as well as he could upon such a sudden warning, and commanded the Harbinger to be brought to him; who excusing himself for not coming time enough to attend his Lordship, said, He was glad to see his Lordship had lighted upon the right House. My Lord something dashed with the ill accommodation, asked him, How he knew it to be the right house? he answered, That himself and one of his fellows had been there the day before to bespeak it. The Master of the House being questioned about it (having formerly denied it) made good his first assertion, denying there was any body at his House: Which put his Lordship into such a fit of Anger, that he threatned to throw the Harbinger out at the window for lying. The man affrighted,



ted, quickly got down the stairs, leaving his Lordship to his shifts, and he and his train that night were but slenderly provided for.

The next morning *Cottington* went to Court betimes, where he spake with the Duke of *Lerma*, representing to him the disorder that had been at *Villa manza*, whereat the Duke seemed highly offended with the *Officers*; and as he was in his heat, in comes the *Harbinger*, who being questioned for this miscarriage, told the Duke (before *Cottington's* face) that the *Ambassador* expected two or three *Grandeos* should be sent to receive him, which failing in, he grew so *cholerick*, that when he came to do his service, he threatened to throw him out at the Window. The Duke perhaps glad of the occasion, gave (by way of *Diversion*) good ear to the fellow's words, and putting on the severest Countenance, told *Cottington*, He did not think that so great a *Councillor* as *Don Juan*, would have so miscarried with *passion*, as to menace, and affront the King's Officer in that manner. So that *Cottington's* business was quite perverted: for whereas he came to complain of the wrongs his Lordship had received, he was now driven to excuse the *Error* he had committed. So that the Duke of *Lerma* left him in his old House a day or two, to consider well of it, and then the *Conde de Salazar*, one of the King's *Major Domos*, was sent to accompany him to the Court. These were the *Glories* of the *Spanish entertainments*, the *Honour* they gave the *English*, and the ground work of that *Union* betwixt the *Nations*; whereon they built up some great *formalities*, which (like *Royal shadows*) vanished in the end and came to nothing.

As the Lord *Digby* is sent into *Spain*, to smooth the way over the *Pyrene*, so *Gage* is sent to *Rome* to make the *Alpes* accessible; for the *Dispensation* must be had from thence for the *Marriage*. That *Man of sin* is the *Primum mobile*, he turns about all inferiour *Orbs* at his pleasure, usurping a *Terrene Deity*, and holds it by the *chains of conscience*, even now, when the light of *Learning* and *Knowledge*, with a *marvelous influence* shines over the *Christian World*. At home the *Prisons* are set open, *Priests* and *Jesuits* walk about at noon day to deceive. And *Gondemar* vaunts of four thousand *Recusants* that his intercession had released: either to make his *service* the more acceptable to his *Master*, or to let him see how willing *Our King* is to do any thing to advance that *Match* that they never intend. Who is not so nice, but that he can stay for a *Dispensation* from *Rome*, to expedite which, he writes to some of the activest *Cardinals* there, and receives answers from them, by *Gage* his *Agent*, full of alluring *Hopes*. And that he might give some more publick *Testimony* of his indulgence, He commands *Dr. Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln*, then Lord Keeper of the

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Car. Bandino.

Car. Lodovico.



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Lord Keeper's  
Letter to the  
Judges.

great Seal of England, to pass *Writs* under the great Seal, to require the Judges of every Circuit, to enlarge all such *Papists* as were imprisoned for *Recusancy*. Whereupon the Lord Keeper issued out these *Writs*, and to let the Judges see how well he was pleased with this command, he Corroborates their Authority with this Letter, signed with his own hand.

After my hearty commendations to you: His Majesty having resolved (out of deep reasons of State, and in expectation of like Correspondence from foreign Princes, to the Professors of our Religion) to grant some Grace, and Connivence, to the imprisoned *Papists* of this Kingdom, hath commanded me to pass some *Writs* under the broad Seal to that purpose: Requiring the Judges of every Circuit to enlarge the said Prisoners according to the tenor and effect of the same. I am to give you to understand (from his Majesty) how his Majesty's Royal pleasure is, that upon Receipt of these *Writs*, you shall make no niceness, or difficulty to extend that his Princely favour to all such *Papists* as you shall find prisoners in the Goals of your Circuits, for any Church Recusancy whatsoever, or refusing the Oath of Supremacy, or dispersing Popish Books, or hearing, saying of Mass, or any other point of Recusancy, which doth touch or concern Religion only, and not Matters of State. And so, I bid you farewell.

Westminster Coll.

Your loving friend,

2 Aug. 1622.

JO. LINCOLN.

His Preferment, Character, and part of his Story.

This Bishop succeeded the Lord *Verulam*, not as Chancellor, but Keeper of the great Seal, he having been by *Buckingham's* means made Dean of *Westminster*, and Bishop of *Lincoln*, upon *Neils* remove to *Durham*, and for a long time had very gracious acceptance with the Countess of *Buckingham*, who was a great means to smoothe his passage to all these places, and the Marquess her Son was the rather induced to it, because he was his creature, and could mould him (as he thought) to serve his own turn; though when he had sifted and tried him, he found some *Pharisaical* leaven in him, and afterwards in the next King's Reign threw him by. For though he were composed of many grains of good Learning, yet the Height of his Spirit (I will not say *Pride*) made him odious even to those that raised him; happily because they could not attain to those Ends by him, that they required of him: For great and good Officers ought to be just to their own principles, and not deviate from them for any worldly Respects.

But being of a comly and stately Presence, and that animated with a great Mind, made him appear very proud to the Vulgar Eye, but that very temper raised him to aim at great things



things, which he effected, for the old ruinous *Body of the Abby Church at Westminster* was new clothed by him ; The fair and beautiful *Library of St. John's in Cambridge*, was a *Pile of his Erection* ; and a very compleat *Chappel* built by him at *Lincoln-College in Oxford*, meerly for the name of *Lincoln*, having no interest in, nor relation to that *University*. These were *Arguments* of a great *Mind*, how far from *Ostentation* in this frail *Body of Flesh*, cannot be determined, because the *Benefit* of publick *Actions*, smoothes every stone that makes up the building.

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But that which heightened him most in the *Opinion* of those that knew him best, was his bountiful *Mind to Men in Want*, being a great *Patron* to support, where there was *Merit* that wanted supply. Among the rest *Monsieur de Molin*, a very famous *Minister of France*, (in the persecution there) driven into *England* for *Refuge*. The *Bishop* hearing of him, spoke to *Doctor Hacket* his *Chaplain* to make him a *Visit* from him. And because (saith he) I think the *Man* may be in *Want*, in a *strange Country*, carry him some *Money*, not naming the *Sum*, because he would sound the depths of his *Chaplain's mind*. *Doctor Hacket* finding the *Bishop* nominate no proportion, told him he could not give him less than twenty pound. I did demur upon the *Sum* (said the *Bishop*) to try you. Is twenty pound a fit gift for me to give a man of his parts and deserts ? Take a hundred pounds, and present it from me, and tell him he shall not want, and I will come shortly and visit him my self. Which he after performed, and made good his *Promise* in supplying him during his abode in *England*.

But these great *Actions* were not publicly visible ; those were more apparent that were looked on with an *Envious*, rather than an *Emulous Eye*. For the close and intimate *Correspondence*, that was betwixt this *Bishop* and the old *Countess*, set many scurrilous tongues, and *Pens* awork, though he was (as I have been assured) *Eunuchus ad Utero*, which shews that nothing can prevent *Malice*, but such an innocence as it cannot lay hold on. For it hath ever been accounted a crime, not to endeavour to prevent the voice of *Calumny*.

His breach with *Land*, *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, and the disgraces put upon him by the Court, will not fall in here, nor his closing again, and *Strugling* when he saw the *Axe* laid to the Root of *Episcopacy*. But by this man's *Actions* (as in a *Mirror*) may be seen that a great *Estate*, which (besides his bounty) his places procured him, is a liquorish *Temptation*, to make a man *Proteus*-like vary from one shape to another, and to shape no direct course, but to go still as the wind blows.

Not long before this, that *Reverend Prelate*, *George Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, a man of a holy and unblamable life (med-

ling



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Archbishop  
Abbat kills a  
Keeper.

ling with edged Tools that he used not to handle in his *Study* by a sad accident killed a keeper with a forked arrow as he was shooting at a Dear. This was a great perplexity to the good man, and a heavy Knell to his *Aged Spirit*, which he petitioned the *King* might ring a *Requiem* to his retired thoughts, at *Guildford*, his place of *Birth*, where he had built a very *Munificent Alms-house*, for poor people, and where he went to bring his *Spirit* under, to make it more blessed than the *Glories* of the *World* can contribute to it. There were very many willing to have him retire to his rest, that gaped after his *Dignity* more than desert, and though Doctor *Land* was but newly initiated into his *Bishoprick* of *St. David's* (by other hands, because those of the *Arch-Bishop* were tinctured with blood, as he saith himself) yet his enmity was not small against him, for being a means to let the *King* know, he was reputed a *Papist* in *Oxford*, and a dangerous turbulent *Spirit*. But the *King* granted out a *Commission* to enquire whether casual *Homicide* did make the *Arch-Bishop* irregular? And in the *Disquisition* of it, he found many friends that restored him from his *Alms-house* to his *Palace*. But this he did, and would have done in either condition. The widow of the man that fell by him was raised by him, and she and her children (as may be said) built a commodious being upon his grave.

Arminianism  
flourished.

The *King's* mercy and indulgence extending towards the *Papists*, taught many men to come as near *Popery* as they could stretch, finding it the next way to preferment, so that *Arminius's Tenets* flew up and down from Pulpit to Pulpit, that indeed preaching was nothing but declamation, little tending to Edification (such *Orthodox Ministers*, as strove to refute these erroneous *Opinions* being looked on as *Puritans*, and *Antimonarchical*) which continual rubbing one against another, begot so much heat, as might have turned into a flame not easie to be quenched. And the *King* had daily information how the *Pulpits* rung against the *Spanish match*. So that to settle these extravagancies, he directs his Letters to the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* in this manner for *Regulating of the Ministry*.

The King's  
Letter for re-  
gulating the  
Ministry.

**M**ost Reverend Father in God, right trusty and intirely beloved Councillor, we greet you well. Forasmuch as the abuses and extravagancies of preachers in the Pulpit have been in all Times expressed in this Realm, by some Act of Council, or State, with the advice and Resolution, of grave and learned Prelates: Insomuch, that the very licensing of Preachers, had beginning by an Order of Star-Chamber, the eighth day of July, in the nineteenth year of the Reign of King Henry the eighth, our Noble Predecessor; And whereas at this present, divers young Students, by reading of late Writers, and ungrounded Divines, do broach many



many times unprofitable, unsound, seditious, and dangerous Doctrines to the scandal of the Church, and disquiet of the State, and present Government. We upon humble representations unto us of these inconveniences by your self, and sundry other grave and reverend Prelates of this Church; as also, of Our Princely care and Zeal for the extirpation of Schism, and dissention, growing from these seeds, and for the settling of a Religious, and Peaceable Government, both in Church, and Commonwealth, do by these Our special letters, straitly charge and command you, to use all possible Care, and Diligence, that these Limitations, and Cautions, herewith sent unto you concerning Preachers, be duly, and strictly, from henceforth put in practice and observed, by the several Bishops within your Jurisdiction. And to this end Our Pleasure is, that you send them forth with Copies of these Directions, to be by them speedily sent, and Communicated, unto every Parson, Vicar, Curate, Lecturer, and Minister in every Cathedral, or Parish Church, within their several Dioceses. And that you earnestly require them to imploy their utmost endeavours, in the performance of this so important a business, testing them know that We have a special Eye unto their Proceedings, and expect a strict account thereof, both from you, and every of them: And these Our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant, and discharge in that behalf. Given under our Signet at our Castle of Windsor the 4. of August, in the twentieth year of Our Reign.

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Directions concerning Preachers sent with the Letter.

1. **T**hat no Preacher, under the Degree and calling of a Bishop, or Dean of a Cathedral, or Collegiate Church (and they upon the King's days, and set Festivals) do take Occasion (by the expounding of any Text of Scripture whatsoever, to fall into any set discourse, or Common-place, otherwise than by opening the Coherence, and Division of the Text, which shall not be comprehended, and warranted, in Essence, Substance, Effect, or natural inference, within some one of the Articles of Religion, set forth 1562. Or in some of the Homilies set forth by Authority of the Church of England. Not only for a help for the Non-preaching, but withal for a Pattern and Boundary (as it were) for the preaching Ministers. And for their further instructions for the performance hereof, that they forthwith, read over and peruse diligently the said Book of Articles, and the two books of Homilies.

2. That no Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, shall preach any Sermon or Collation hereafter upon Sundays, and Holy-days in the afternoon, in any Cathedral, or parish Church, throughout the Kingdom, but upon some part of the Catechism, or some Text taken out of the Creed, ten Commandments, or the Lords Prayer (Funeral Sermons only excepted) and that those Preachers be most encouraged, and approved of, who spend the after-  
noons



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noons exercise, in the examination of children in their Catechism, which is the most ancient, and Laudable custom of teaching in the Church of England.

3. That no Preacher of what Title soever under the Degree of a Bishop, or Dean, at the least, do from Henceforth presume to preach in any Popular Auditory the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's Grace, but leave those Themes rather to be handled by the learned Men, and that moderately and Modestly, by way of use and application, rather than by way of Positive, Doctrines, being fitter for the Schools then for simple Auditories.

4. That no Preacher of what Title or Denomination soever, from henceforth shall presume in any Auditory within this Kingdom to declare, limit, or bound out, by way of Positive Doctrine in any Lecture, or Sermon, the Power, Prerogative, and Jurisdiction, Authority, or Duty of Sovereign Princes, or otherwise meddle with Matters of State, and the differences between Princes, and the People, then as they are instructed, and Precedented in the Homilies of Obedience, and the rest of the Homilies, and Articles of Religion, set forth (as before is mentioned) by publick Authority, but rather confine themselves wholly, to those two heads of Faith, and Good life, which are all the subject of the ancient Sermons, and Homilies.

5. That no Preacher of what Title or Denomination soever, shall presume causelessly; or (without invitation from the Text) fall into bitter invectives, and undecent railing speeches against the Persons of either Papists, or Puritans, but modestly, and gravely, when they are occasioned thereunto, by the Text of Scripture, free both the Doctrine, and the Discipline of the Church of England, from the aspersions of either adversary; especially where the Auditory is Suspected to be tainted with the One, or the other infection.

6. Lastly, that the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops of the Kingdom (whom his Majesty hath good cause to blame for this former remissness) be more wary, and choice in their licensing of Preachers, and revoke all Grants made to any Chancellor, Official, or Commissary, to pass Licences in this kind. And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom of England (a new Body severed from the ancient Clergy, as being neither Parsons, Vicars, nor Curates) be licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, but only, from a Recommendation of the Party, from the Bishop of the Diocels under his hand and seal, with a Fiat from the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, a Confirmation under the great Seal of England. And that such as do transgress any one of these Directions, be suspended by the Bishop of the Diocels, or in his default by the Arch-Bishop of the Province, ab officio & beneficio, for a Year and a Day, until his Majesty by the advice of the next Convocation, shall prescribe some further punishment.

These



The *Directions* the *Archbishop* recommended to his several *Diocesans*, that they might be put in execution with *caution*. And then may be observed that the King's affections tended to the *peaceable comportment* of his people, that both *Papist* and *Puritan* might have a *quiet being*; which preponderation of *His* puts them in *Æqui-librio*, nay, the *Papist* was in the *prime Scale*. But this new thing called a *Lecturer*, he could by no means endure, unless he past through all the *Briers* of his several Courts to the *Broad Seal*, which was a kind of pungent *Ordeal Tryal*, to which he must put his *Teste me ipso*, and then it was *Orthodox*; so that though *Lecturers* were not absolutely forbidden, yet the *charge* and trouble to come to it, made the way inaccessible. *Preachers* by an *Order of Star-chamber* in *Heaven* were first *licensed*, with an *Ite, prædicate*, before *Henry the Eighth's* time; and certainly they have a great *Seal* from thence for what they do; Therefore it behoves them to take heed what they say, lest that *Spirit* they receive *Directions* from bind them not up.

But this *Animosity* of the King's against *Puritans*, was thought to be fomented by the *Papists*, whose *Agent Bishop Land* was suspected to be, though in *Religion* he had a *Motley form* by himself, and would never (as a *Priest* told me plainly in *Flanders*) bring his neck under the obedience of the *Roman Yoke*, though he might stickle for the grandure of the *Clergy*. And now he began to be *Buckingham's Confessor* (as he expresseth in his own *Notes*) and wore the *Court Livery*, though the King had a sufficient *character* of him, and was pleased with *Asseveration* to protest his incentive *Spirit* should be kept under, that the flame should not break out by any *Preferment* from him. But that was now forgotten, and he crept so into favour, that he was thought to be the *Bellows* that blew these *Fires*. For the *Papists* used all the *Artifices* they could to make a *breach* between the King and his People, that they might enter at the same for their own *Ends*: which to accomplish, they sily close with the chief ministers of *State*, to put the King upon all his *Projects* and *Monopolies*, displeasing to the people, that they might the more *Alienate* their *Affections* from him: Sowing their *seeds of Division* also betwixt *Puritan* and *Protestant*, so that (like the second *Commandment*) they quite exclude the *Protestant*. For all those were *Puritans* with this *high-grown-Arminian-popish party*, that held in judgment the *Doctrine* of the *Reformed Churches*, or in practice live according to the *Doctrine* publickly taught in the *Church of England*. And they attribute the name of *Protestant*.

1. To such *Papists* as either out of *policy*, or by *popish indulgence*, hold outward *Communion* with the *Church of England*.

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Observations upon the Directions.

Papists the fomenters.



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Regians and  
Republicans.

2. To such *Protestants*, as were either tainted with, or inclinable to their opinions.

3. To indifferent *Men*, who imbrace always that *Religion* that shall be commanded by *Authority*. Or,

4. To such *Neutrals* as care for no *Religion*, but such as stands with their own liking: so that they allow the *Church of England* the *Refuse* both of their *Religion*, and *Ours*.

Then they strive to make a *Division* of *Regians* and *Republicans*; The *Regians* are the great *Dependents* upon the *Crown*, both in *Church* and *State*, who swell up the *Prerogative*, preaching and distilling into the *King*, the *Almightiness* of his power. That all that the *People* hath is the *King's*, and that it is by his *mercy* they have a bare empty *Being*. And this hoisting up of the *King* they knew would stir up the *Republicans* to oppose him in his *Designs*, by which they pinch (as the *King* thinks) his *Prerogative*; feeding a strife, betwixt *Law* and *Prerogative*, whereby they escape the *Dint* of both, and hope the fire they kindle will break out at last to consume their *Adversaries*. That these things were acted and fomented by *Papists*, was very *probable*, for they were great *Sticklers* about the *Court* and *Council-Table*. But it was too apparent that some of the *Clergy* (to make their way the smoother to their wished end) began so to adore the *King*, that he could not be named but more reverence was done to it than to the *Name of God*; And the *Judges* in their *itinerant Circuits* (the more to enslave the people to *Obedience*) being to speak of the *King*, would give him such *Sacred* and *Oraculous Titles*, as if their advancement to higher places, must necessarily be laid upon the *foundation* of the *peoples* debasement.

On the other side: The well affected to *Religion* (that knew no other inclination than the *Dictates* of their own *Reason*, experiences of former times, and the constant *practices* of the *Romanists* for propagating their own designs) did by their writings and discourses, strive to warm the *King's* cold temper, and put fresh *spirits* into his *chilled veins*; shewing the *Tyranny* of the incroaching *Monarchy* of the *House of Austria* (who was *Rome's* great *Factor*) and how just and secure the opposing of such a growing power will be; That no *Sword* is so sharp, nor *Arm's* so strong, as those that are cemented with true *Religion*. The security of *Conscience*, grounded upon the *Word of Truth*, being not only a *Bulwark* to defend, but the best *Engin* to oppose *Idoltry* and *Ambition*. Thus stood the *Kingdom* divided in it self.

The King  
active in the  
Treaty.

But as the *King* strove (after this *Rupture* betwixt him and the *Parliament*) to settle things at home, and keep his people in *obedience*, so he was as active abroad to keep up his own *Reputation*: For he made a full account to salve up all these *mischances*

carriages



carriages, by the intended *Match* with *Spain*, that his people might see he could discern further into the intrinſical matters of *State* than they, and ſo make the *Error* theirs. Therefore he lied it by his *Ambaſſadors* and *Agents*, and all indulgences to *Recuſants* were admitted to ſweeten their *Addreſſes*. The Lord *Vaux*, a *Papiſt*, had freedom to transport four thouſand *English*, to reinforce the King of *Spain's Armies*, both againſt our King's *Confederates* of *Holland* (under whoſe protection his baniſhed *Children* had refuge) and againſt their *Country* it ſelf the *Palatinate*, which the King ſo much endeavoured to preſerve.

The *Articles of Marriage* had taken up much time in debate, between the *Commiſſioners* of the two Kings, before they could be brought to any form, and the principal *Articles* (that concerned *Religion*) had many various ſhapes put upon them, till they were dreſt to their minds: And when they were fitted and fashioned by them, the *Pope* ſtrippt them naked, and put upon them what *Garment* they pleaſed; He hath his *Index expurgatorius* in every thing. And to dead our King's hopes, the *Pope* urges, *Quod Eccleſiaſtici nullis legibus ſubjaccant, niſi ſuorum ſuperiorum Eccleſiaſticorum*, That the *Eccleſiaſticks* ſhould be ſubject to no *Laws*, but what they brought along with them, which gave liberty to do what they pleaſed, and to be puniſhed for their ill doing how they pleaſed. That the children of the *Infanta* might be brought up in the *Papiſh Religion*, *Uſque ad Annos nobiles*, till it be well rooted in them. And that ſhe might have a publick *Church* in the *City* for all comers, beſides her *Chappel* in the *Court*, which extended to little leſ than an open *Toleration*. Some other *Rubs* the *Pope* threw in the way, which the King ſtumbled at, not being in the *Articles* treated on betwixt him and the King of *Spain*, which He inſiſts on to that King, diſclaims any *Treaty* with the *Pope*, though his *Agent Gage* made daily addreſſes to him, by Cardinal *Bandino* with whom Our King held *correſpondence*. And He requires the Lord *Digby* in *Spain* to preſs that King to a final *Reſolution*, that he might provide ſome other *Match* for his Son, if this ſhould not ſucceed: For (ſaith He) *We have in a manner already done that which is deſired, as all the Roman Catholicks have found; which if the Pope had known, it is to be preſumed, he would not ſo much have inſiſted upon theſe points.* And the lending, and reſending, betwixt *Spain* and *Rome*, and *Rome* and *Spain*. ſpends time, and may ſerve for a colour to draw the *Treaty* in infinitum. But yet willing he was to have ſome *Anchor-hold* for his hopes; for in the ſame Letter, he ſaith, *Nevertheleſſ if you find it a thing impoſſible for them to reſolve without a reply to Rome, and that they do earneſtly deſire it; We are contented that you ſhall yield them two months time, after your Audience, and longer we cannot expect.*

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An. Chriſti.

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The Articles  
of marriage  
long a ſetting.

Quo ſemel eſt  
imbuta  
Recens ſervabit  
odorem  
Teſta diu:—

Our King's  
Reſolution.



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1622.

Sent to Digby  
in Spain.Spanish jug-  
ling.

These *Resolutions* were sent *Post* into *Spain*, inclosed in this following Letter, which is very necessary to be inserted here, though taken from Mr. *Prin's* Collection, who had this and others among the Lord *Cottington's* Papers (a great *Agent* afterwards in the *Spanish Affairs*) and are the bitter Kernel, preserved by *Cottington*, when the *Shell* of the *Treaty* was broken.

**R**ight Trusty, &c. Your dispatch of the ninth of August gave Us so much Contentment, and so great Hopes of Satisfaction, in all those Businesses, which you have there to Treat with that King, as we could not expect any further Difficulties; Notwithstanding by that which hath come to Our hands immediately after, as well by George Gage from Rome, as by our Ambassador, Sir Richard Weston at Bruxels, and Our Ministers in the Palatinate; We find that neither the Dispensation is granted for the Match, nor the Treaty of Cessation so near a conclusion, as We conceived it would have been, now that the Auxiliaries and all other Obstacles are removed. But on the contrary side, that new delays and excuses are invented, Our Garisons in the Palatinate in the mean time blocked up, Heidelberg it self Actually besieged. Which proceeding, though Our Ambassador hath expostulated with the Infanta and the Commissioners, as injurious to Us, and ill be seeming their Professions hitherto, yet is there not that readiness shewed to give Us such contentment therein as We might justly expect, but Answers still protracted, and put off, for advantage; whilst Our Forces there remain in great Distress, and the Town and Castle of Heidelberg likely in a few Daies to be lost, for it cannot hold out long, as We are informed. This dealing seems the more strange unto Us, for that the late Dispatch of the King of Spain was (before the news of the Siege, and that Our Ambassador had propounded any thing concerning it) come unto the Infanta. But because you shall be particularly informed of the whole carriage of the business, We have given order that copies shall be sent you of all the Dispatch, and then you shall see how these proceedings agree with the Hopes and Promises which are given Us from thence.

Hereupon therefore Our pleasure is, That you shall immediately and with as much speed as you may, crave Audience of that King, and represent unto him the merit which We may justly challenge unto Our self, for Our sincere proceedings with the Emperor, and Him, in all the course of this business, notwithstanding the many invitations and temptations, which We have had, to engage Our self on Our Son-in-law's part. That We have had both from the Emperor and him hopes given Us from time to time, of extraordinary Respect, howsoever Our Son-in-law had deserved, which We have attended, and expected even to the very last with much Patience, and in despite (as it were) of all the opposition that hath been



been made to shake our Resolution in that behalf. *If now when all impediments are removed, and that the way is so prepared, as that the Emperor may give an end unto the War, and make some present demonstration of his Respects towards us, in leaving Us the Honour of holding those poor places, which yet remain quietly, and peaceably, until the general accommodation, the same shall nevertheless be violently taken from Us, what can We look for when the whole shall be in his hands and possession? who amusing Us with a Treaty of Cessation, and protracting it industriously (as We have reason to believe) doth in the mean time seize himself of the whole Country; which being done, Our Ambassador shall return with Scorn, and We remain with Dishonour.*

*I shall not need to furnish you with Arguments for the unfolding and laying open this unfriendly Dealing more plainly unto them; your own Reason and observation will find enough out of the Dispatches, whereof Copies are sent unto you; as namely, the withdrawing of the Spanish forces, and leaving the business wholly in the hands of the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria; The Style of the Infanta in answering Our Ambassador with Recriminations, which was not her manner heretofore; The sleight and frivolous answer given by the Marquess of Bedmar unto Our Ambassador, when he acquainted him with the Siege of Heidelberg: The quarrellous occasion taken by the Emperor for calling the Diet at Ratisbone, contrary to his own promise, which in his dispatch to Us he confesseth to have broken, as you will see by the Copy. All which, and many more, which your own judgment (in the perusal of the Dispatches) will suggest unto you do minister unto Us cause sufficient of jealousy on the Emperor's part, as you shall plainly tell that King, although We will not do him that wrong as to mistrust, that He gives the least consent to it. In this confidence, with much earnestness, We shall still solicit him, that for the affection he bears us, and the desire which We suppose he hath, that there may continue for ever a perfect Amity betwixt Us, and the whole House of Austria, he will not cease to do all good Offices herein; letting him know directly, that in these terms We cannot stand with the Emperor, but that if Heidelberg be won, or the Siege continue, or the Cessation be long unnecessarily delayed, We must recall Our Ambassador from Bruxels, and treat no more, as We have already given order, hoping that whatsoever unkindness We shall conceive against the Emperor upon these occasions, it shall not be interpreted to reflect in any sort upon the entire affection that is at this present, and as We hope shall always continue betwixt Us and the Crown of Spain. And therefore as we have heretofore sundry times promised, in testimony of the sincerity of Our proceedings, and of Our great Desire to preserve the Amity inviolable, between Us, and the whole House of Austria; That in case Our Son-in-law would not be governed by Us, that then we would not only forsake him, but take part, and joyn Our forces with the Emperor against*

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Austrian juggling.



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against him, so you may fairly represent unto that King, that in like manner, we have Reason to expect the same Measure from him, (upon the Emperor's averſeneſs to a Ceſſation, and Accommodation) he will likewise Actually aſſiſt Us, for the Recovery of the Palatinate, and Electoral Dignity, unto Our Son-in-law, as it hath been often times intimated from Spain.

To conclude, We ſhall not need to ſay any more unto you, touching this Point; but to let you ſee, that Our meaning is to carry all things fair with that King, and not to give him any cauſe of Diſtruſt, or jealousie; if you perceive that they intend to go really and roundly on with the Match. Wherein nevertheleſs we muſt tell you that we have no great Cauſe to be well pleaſed with the Diligences uſed on that part, when we obſerve that after ſo long an expectation of the Diſpenſation, upon which the whole buſineſs (as they will have it) depends, there is nothing yet returned but Queries and Objections. Yet becauſe we will not give over Our Patience, a while longer, until we underſtand more certainly what the effect thereof is like to be; wherein we require you to be very Wary, and watchful, conſidering how Our Honour is therein engaged; we have thought fit to let you know, how far we are pleaſed to enlarge Our ſelf, concerning thoſe points demanded by the Pope, and ſet down by way of Poſt unto the Articles agreed upon, betwixt Spain and Us, as you ſhall ſee by the Power, which Gage brought Us from Rome, whereof we have ſent you a Copy, and our Reſolutions thereupon Signed with our own hand, for your warrant, and Inſtruction. And further then that ſince we cannot go, without much prejudice, inconvenience, and diſhonour to our ſelf, and our Son, we hope and expect the King of Spain will bring it inſtantly to an iſſue, without further delay, which you are to preſs with all Diligence, and earneſtneſs; that you may preſently know their final Reſolution, and what we may expect thereupon. But if any Reſpit of time be earneſtly demanded, and that you perceive it not poſſible for them to reſolve until an answer come from Rome, we then think it fit that you give them two Months time after your Audience, that we may underſtand that King's final Reſolution, before Chriſtmas next at the furtheſt.

Wanſted. 9. Sept. 1622.

The King  
abused.

This Letter doth not only diſcover the ſhuffling, and Fox-like contrivances of the Houſe of Auſtria to Work, and Earh themſelves in the Palatinate, but alſo the ſcorns, and reproaches put upon Our King, and (if I may ſo call them) his Terriers, who (with little Bayings only) let them work, till they, had got into their Faſtneſſes, and ſtrong holds, and then they may Bay at leiſure, and blame their lazy belief. But notwithstanding our King threatens in his Letter, if Heidelberg be loſt, and the Ceſſation delayed, he will Treat no more, yet the Deſire of the Match was ſo radicated in his heart, that neither the loſs of Hei-



Heidleberg, or Manheim that succeeded it, nor the blocking up of Frankendale (the last strong hold of his Son-in-laws Inheritance) could Mortifie his Hopes. But as the Emperor besieged these Towns with his Armies, so he beset the King of Spain with his Treaties. And the Lord Digby though quickned by this Letter, did not lay open the cunning carriage of these contrivers (which tended to root out the reformed Religion in Germany) nor press home these particulars as he was enjoined but only let the King of Spain know, That his late Father, by the advice of his Ecclesiasticks in Spain, had consented to the Articles of Marriage, in matters of Religion, five months since, yet there were demurs upon those points, notwithstanding that the King of Great Britain complied in all things, then demanded particularly, what he would do in favour of the Catholicks; But now after two years time, the Pope of his own Accord (without any intimation to Spain) had sent directly for England, propounding to the King his Master, not only many alterations in the Capitulations (before a Dispensation could be granted) but intruded something new, which the King would by no means yield unto: wherefore to expedite the Business (the King having neglected all other Treaties of marriage for his Son these six years past, only in respect of this Treaty) he is commanded to declare plainly to the King of Spain, how far the King his Master may condescend in matters of Religion, and if that will give content, to proceed to a conclusion of the Marriage, without more Delays, (seeing he hath yielded to much more than was capitulated in the late King of Spain's time) if this will not satisfy, that then without loss of more time, the King his Master may dispose of his Son, and the King of Spain of the Infanta as they please.

These things were ruminated on by the slow paced Spanish gravity; and fair, and plausible answers presented, that like fruits of Dissimulation gave but small Nourishment to hope, yet it kept it alive, (though in a drooping condition) and it was only sustained till they could bring their ends about. Which our King now suspecting (as he had good cause) from the constant intelligences given him, of the diminution of his own Forces in the Palatinate, and the Growing strength of the Enemy, He dispatches this second Letter to the Baron Digby to let the King of Spain know how sensible he was of being abused, and how loath he was to see it.

Right Trusty, &c. There is none better knoweth than your self, how we have laboured, ever since the beginning of these unfortunate Troubles of the Empire (notwithstanding all opposition to the contrary) to merit well of our good Brother, the King of Spain, and the whole House of Austria, by a long and lingering Patience, grounded

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Digby faulty.

2. Letter to Digby.



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grounded still upon his friendship, and promises; that Care should be had of our Honour, and of our Childrens Patrimony, and Inheritance: We have acquainted you also from time to time, since the beginning of the Treaty at Bruxels, how crossly all things have there proceeded, notwithstanding all the fair Professions made unto us, both by the King of Spain, and the Infanta, and all his Ministers, and the letters written by him unto the Emperor, and them Effectually, at least (as they endeavoured to make us believe,) but what fruits have we of all these? Whil'st we are Treating, the Town and Castle of Heidelberg are taken by force, our Garison put to the Sword, Manheim besieged, and all the Hostility used that is in the power of an Enemy, as you may see by the Relation, which we have commanded our Secretary to send you. Our pleasure therefore is, that you immediately, as soon you can get Audience, let that King understand, how sensible we are of these Proceedings of the Emperor towards us, and withall, are not a little troubled to see, that the Infanta (having an absolute Commission to conclude a Cessation, and suspension of Arms) should now at last when all Objections were answered, and the former (solely) pretended Obstacles removed, not only delay the conclusion of the Treaty, but refuse to lay her Command upon the Emperor's Generals to abstain from the Siege of our Garisons during the Treaty, upon a Pretext of want of Authority: so as for avoiding of further Dishonour, we have been forced to recall both our Ambassadors, as well the Chancellor of our Exchequer (who is already returned to our Presence, as also the Lord Chichester, whom we intended to have sent unto the Emperor, to the Diet at Ratisbone.) Seeing therefore that meerly out of Our extraordinary Respect to the King of Spain, and the firm Confidence We ever put in the Hopes and promises, which He did give Us (desiring nothing more then for his Cause principally to avoid all occasions that might put Us in ill understanding with any of the House of Austria) We have hitherto proceeded with a stedfast patience, trusting to the Treaties, and neglecting all other means, which probably might have secured the Remainder of Our Childrens inheritance (these Garisons which We maintained in the Palatinate, being rather for Honour sake, to keep a footing until the general accommodation, then that we did rely so much upon their strength, as upon his friendship) and by this Confidence and Security of Ours, are now exposed to Dishonour and Reproach. You shall tell that King, that seeing all those endeavours and good offices, which he hath used towards the Emperor in this business, on the behalf of Our Son-in-law (upon confidence whereof that security of Ours depended, which he continually by his Letters and Ministers here laboured to beget and confirm in Us) have not sorted to any other issue, than to a plain abuse, both of his trust, and Ours, whereby We are both of Us highly injured in Our Honour, though in a different Degree; We hope, and desire, that out of a true sense of this

Gondemar's  
Master-piece.



*this Wrong offered unto Us, he will as Our dear and loving Brother, faithfully promise, and undertake upon his Honour, (confirming the same also under his Hand and Seal) either that the Town and Castle of Heidelberg, shall within Threescore and ten dayes after your Audience, and Demand made, be rendred into Our hands, with all things therein belonging to Our Son in law, or Our Daughter (as near as may be in the State they were, when they were taken) and the like for Manheim, and Frankendale, if both or either of them shall be taken by the Enemy, while these things are in Treaty: As also that there shall be within the said Term of seventy daies a Cessation and Suspension of Arms in the Palatinate for the future, upon the severall Articles and Conditions last propounded by Our Ambassadour Sir Richard Weston, and that the general Treaty shall be set afoot again, upon such Honourable Terms and Conditions, as We propounded unto the Emperour in a Letter written unto him in November last, and with which the King of Spain then (as We understood) seemed satisfied. Or else in case all these Particulars be not yielded unto, and performed by the Emperour, as is here propounded, but be refused or delayed, beyond the time aforementioned: That then the King of Spain do joyn his Forces with Ours for the Recovery of Our Childrens Honours and Patrimony, which upon this Trust hath been thus lost: Or if so be his Forces at this present be otherwise so employed as that they cannot give Us that assistance which We here desire, and (as We think) have deserved, yet that at the least He will permit Us a free and friendly passage through his Territories, and Dominions, for such Forces as We shall send and imploy in Germany for his Service. Of all which distinctively, if you receive not from the King of Spain (within ten daies at the furthest after your Audience) a direct Assurance under his Hand and Seal, without Delay, or putting Us off to further Treaties and Conferences: That is to say, of such Restitution, Cessation of Arms, and proceeding to a General Treaty, as is before mentioned; or else of assistance, and joyning his Forces with Ours, against the Emperour; or at the least, permission of passage for Our Forces through his, the said King's Dominions; that then you take your leave, and return to Our Presence, without further stay; Otherwise to proceed in the Negotiation for the Marriage of Our Son, according to the Instructions We have given you.*

This Letter was dated the Third of October. And presently after it was sent away, the King recollected himself, and thought it good Policy to make some advantage of this Breach with Spain (if there were One) by letting his People see, he would no longer wait the Spanish Delays; (which they were impatient enough of) therefore his Ambassadours (to hinder the knowledge of it at home) must conceal the breach abroad, stay still in the Spanish Court, as if the business were in full Motion,

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1622.3. Letter to  
Digby.

and ripe for projection; And he must break it to pieces here himself, to make it the more acceptable; either to get the more love or money from the people, or for what other intention is unknown. But the very next day he sends this further Direction by *Endimion Porter*.

**R**ight Trusty, &c. We have given you certain Instructions, signed with Our hand, to direct you how to express unto the King of Spain the feeling We have of the Dishonour put upon Us by the Emperour, through Our Trust and Confidence in that King's Promises, wherein you have Order to come away without further delay, in case you receive not Satisfaction to your Demands, in such sort as We have Commanded you to propound them. Nevertheless, We are to put you in remembrance of that which We have heretofore told you, in case a Rupture happen between the King of Spain and Us, that We would be glad to manage it at Our best advantage. And therefore however you do not find the Satisfaction, which We in those Instructions crave from the King of Spain, and have Reason to expect, yet would We not have you instantly come away upon it, but advertise Us first, letting Us know privately (if you find such cause) that there is no good to be done, nor no Satisfaction as you judge intended Us, (though Publickly, and Outwardly you give out the contrary) that We may make use thereof with Our People in Parliament, as We shall hold best for Our Service. And this see you do, notwithstanding any thing in your other Instructions to the contrary. Dated 4. Octob. 1622.

Our King's patience.

The King in the first of these two Letters gives Thirty dayes more to the King of Spain, to repent of his bad dealing with him, then was given to the great City, and yet he repented not. And this Positive Command (limiting but ten daies after Audience for a Resolution in these Points,) one would have thought should have produced an absolute Breach, or a perfect Conclusion. But the Spaniard continues in his old pace still, and would not be spurr'd up, and Digby (now made Earl of Bristol for his good Service) whistles after him his Old Note still, assuring Our King, That the King of Spain (though slow) was real in his Intentions. And if Our King had not had a great good stomach to the Match, he would never have digested this dealing from a Brother and a Servant; the Pope also at the same time giving him a Bit to chew on, interpreting the Articles where the Children of Marriage were to be brought up, usque ad annos nobiles, to be fourteen years old, which Our King would not consent to, in respect of the Scandal it might produce. For he knew impressions in Youth settled by Custome, are not easie to remove, especially where they make Dints upon the Conscience; therefore he pressed the King of Spain, that the children



dren might not suck in their Mothers instructions so long time, being less for his Honour: and they with much importunity, brought it down from fourteen to ten, and there they stuck. Our King expressed himself willing to have them brought up *sub regimine matris*, for seven years, and that time should be limited in the publique Capitulations, but if more time were insisted on by the Pope, He would oblige himself privately by a Letter to the King of Spain, that they shall be under their Mother's Regiment for two years longer. And seeing there is but one year more that is betwixt them, the King in another Letter to the Earl of Bristol tells him, That if they would not be contented with nine, he would not stick to give them another year.

While they were thus Wire-drawing, time spun out, *Manheim* the chief Strength and Fortres in the *Palatinate* was taken by *Tilly* the *Emperour's* General, whereof *Sir Horatio Vere* was Commander, surrendred upon honourable Conditions, having neither strength of Men, or means to resist an Enemy. *Heidelberg* before it (as the King expressed) was taken by Assault, *Sir Gerard Herbert* the Commander of the Castle slain, after he had repulsed the Enemy from the Assault, breaking six Pikes upon them with his own hand. And now *Tilly* (Winter coming on) greedy to finish his work, sits down before *Frankendale*, whereof Major *Burrowes* had the Command, a man of as much valour and experience, as *Time* the Director, and *Spirit* the Actor could make a man capable of. But all this, and the Strength of the Town to boot could not have protected them, (their Wants being stronger than their Enemy) if *Tilly* had not been drowned up in his Trenches, which forced his remove.

And though Our King said in his last Answer to the *Parliament's* Petition, That the Enemy would have swallowed up his Forces in the *Palatinate* in eight daies, if my Lord *Digby* had not succoured it; yet the weakest of the three Places, which is *Heidelberg*, was not taken in a moment; for *Tilly* in *June* last set down before it, and was constrained to raise his Siege, being not strong enough; and coming again with a greater Power in the end of *July* following, he was there above two moneths before he took so much as any of their Out-Works. And *Manheim*, and *Frankendale* are two such strong Holds, that if they had been well furnished with Men and Provisions, they might have stood out against *Tilly*, nay the great *Turk*, as well, if not better than *Vienna* the Imperial City.

As soon as the King had notice of the taking of *Manheim*, he gives *Bristol* intimation of it, and was very well satisfied of the King of *Spain's* good intentions for the Relief of it, though Order sent to the *Infanta* arrived not there till the Town was surrendred. Which was the old *Spanish* plot of *Philip* the Second

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Dated New-  
Market 24.  
Novem. 1622.

The Palat. lost.

The Palatinate  
a strong Coun-  
treys.

Our King satisf-  
fied of *Spaines*  
good intenti-  
ons.



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Articles of  
Marriage.

to get *Portugal* into his hand, wherein he cheated the *Pope* himself, delaying his solicitations, by his *Legate*, *Cardinal Riario* (for *Don Antonio Bastard* of *Portugal*) with specious and pleasing entertainments, till he had gotten the *Castle* of *St. Julians*, the greatest strength of the *Kingdom* (then besieged by him) into his power. And yet our *King* looked upon this *Apparition* as *Real*, and thanked the *King* of *Spain* for the good he never intended.

And now the *Articles* of *Marriage* that had been long hatching: flew up and down from hand to hand: The *French Historians* mention them: so doth *Mr. Pryn* in his hidden *Works* of darkness, as they were found among the *Lord Cottington's Papers*. These came to me from the *Nest*, and I have kept them till this time, and comparing them with other *Copies*, there is scarce a feather amiss. Nor should they have pestered this paper, but to shew what great pains was taken to little purpose, what Huge pretences shouldred in to make way for the *Spanish Designs*, which at last dwindled to nothing.

The *Articles* are these.

1. **T**hat the *Marriage* be made by Dispensation of the *Pope*, but that to be procured by the endeavour of the *King* of *Spain*.
2. That the *Marriage* be once celebrated in *Spain*, and Ratified in *England*, in form following. In the morning, after the most gracious *Infanta* hath ended her Devotions in the Chappel, She and the most excellent *Prince Charles*, shall meet in the *King's Chappel*, or in some other Room of the *Palace*, where it shall seem most expedient: and there shall be read all the *Procurations*, by Virtue whereof the *Marriage* was celebrated in *Spain*. And as well the most excellent *Prince*, as the most excellent *Infanta* shall ratifie the said *Marriage* celebrated in *Spain*, with all Solemnity necessary to such an Act, so as no Ceremony, or other thing intervene, which shall be contrary to the *Roman-Catholik-Apostolik-Religion*.
3. That the *Gracious Infanta* shall take with Her such Servants, and Family, as are convenient for her service; which Family, and all Persons to her belonging, shall be chosen and nominated by the *Catholik King*, so as he nominate no Servant which is Vassail to the *King* of *Great Britain*, without his will and consent.
4. That as well the most gracious *Lady Infanta*, as all her Servants and Family, shall have free use and publique exercise of the *Roman Catholike Religion*, in manner and form, as is beneath Capitulated.
5. That she shall have an *Oratory* and decent Chappel in her *Palace*, where, at the pleasure of the most *Gracious Infanta*, Masses may be celebrated, which *Oratory* or Chappel shall be adorned with such decencie, as shall seem convenient for the most gracious *Infanta*; with a publique Church in *London*, &c.

The *Pope* extended this Article, *Habeat etiam Ecclesiam publicam Londini, &c.*

6. That



6. That the Men-servants and Maid-servants of the most Gracious Infanta, and their Servants, Children, and Descendents, and all their Families, of what sort soever, serving her Highness, may be freely Catholiks.

7. That the most gracious Infanta, her Servants and Family, may be freely Catholiks, in form following.

8. That the most gracious Infanta may have in her Palace, her Oratory, and Chappel so spacious, that her said Servants and Family may enter and stay therein. In which there shall be an ordinary and publique door for them, and another inward door, by which the Infanta may have a passage into the said Chappel, where she, and others, as above said, may be present at Divine Offices.

9. That the Chappel, Church, and Oratory, may be beautified with decent Ornaments, of Altar, and other things necessary for Divine Service, which is to be celebrated in them, according to the custom of the Ho. Ro. Church; and that it shall be lawful for the said Servants, and others to go to the said Chappel and Church at all hours as to them shall seem expedient.

10. That the care and custody of the said Chappel and Church, shall be committed to such as the Lady Infanta shall appoint, to whom it shall be lawful to appoint Keepers, that no body may enter into them to do any undecent thing.

11. That to the administration of the Sacraments, and to serve in Chappel and Church aforesaid, there shall be so many Priests, and Assistants, as to the Infanta shall seem fit, and the election of them shall belong to the Lady Infanta, and the Catholike King her Brother. Provided, that they be none of the Vassals of the King of Great Britain; and if they be, his will and consent is to be first obtained.

12. That there be one Superiour Minister or Bishop, with necessary Authority upon all occasions which shall happen, belonging to Religion; and for want of a Bishop, that his Vicar may have his Authority and jurisdiction.

13. That this Bishop or Superiour Minister may correct, amend, or chastize all Roman Catholiks who shall offend, and shall exercise upon them all Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical; and moreover also, the Lady Infanta shall have power to put them out of her service, whensoever it shall seem expedient to her.

13. That it may be lawful for the Lady Infanta and her Servants, to procure from Rome Dispensations, Indulgences, Jubilees, and all Graces, as shall seem fit to their Religion and Consciences, and to get and make use of any Catholike Books whatsoever.

15. That the Servants of the Family of the Lady Infanta, who shall come into England, shall take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of Great Britain, provided that there be no clause therein, which

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which shall be contrary to their Consciences, and the Roman Catholike Religion; and if they happen to be Vassals to the King of Great Britain, they shall take the same Oath that the Spaniard doth.

16. That the Laws which are or shall be in England against Religion, shall not take hold of the said Servants. And onely the foresaid Superiour Ecclesiastical Catholike may proceed against Ecclesiastical persons, as hath been accustomed by Catholikes. And if any Secular Judge shall apprehend any Ecclesiastical Person for any offence, he shall forthwith cause him to be delivered to the foresaid Superiour Ecclesiastick, who shall proceed against him according to the Canon Law.

17. That the Lawes made against Catholikes in England, or in any other Kingdom of the King of Great Britain, shall not extend to the Children of this Marriage; and though they be Catholikes, they shall not lose the Right of Succession to the Kingdom and Dominions of Great Britain.

18. That the Nurfs which shall give suck to the Children of the Lady Infanta (whether they be of the Kingdom of Great Britain, or of any other Nation whatsoever) shall be chosen by the Lady Infanta, as she pleaseth, and shall be accounted of her Family, and enjoy the privileges thereof.

19. That the Bishop, Ecclesiastical Persons, and Religious, of the Family of the Lady Infanta, shall wear the Vestment and Habit of his dignity profession and Religion, after the custom of Rome.

20. For security that the said Matrimony be not dissolved for any cause whatsoever; The King of Great Britain and Prince Charles are equally to pass the Word and Honour of a King: and moreover that they will perform whatsoever shall be propounded by the Catholike King for further confirmation, if it may be done decently and fitly.

21. That the Sons and Daughters which shall be born of this Marriage, shall be brought up in the company of the most Excellent Infanta, at least untill the Age of Ten years, and shall freely enjoy the Right of Succession to the Kingdoms as aforesaid.

22. That whensoever any place of either Man-servant, or Maid-servant, which the Lady Infanta shall bring with her (nominated by the Catholike King her Brother) shall happen to be void, whether by death, or by other Cause or accident, all the said Servants of her Family are to be supplied by the Catholike King as aforesaid.

23. For security that whatsoever is Capitulated may be fulfilled, The King of Great Britain and Prince Charles, are to be bound by Oath, and all the King's Council shall Confirm the said Treaty under their hands. Moreover the said King and Prince are to give their Faiths in the Word of a King, to endeavour, if possible, that whatsoever is Capitulated, may be established by Parliament.

24. That conformable to this Treaty, all these things proposed are to be allowed and approved of by the Pope, that he may give an Apostolical Benediction, and a Dispensation necessary to effect the Marriage.

But



But though *our King*, and *Prince*, subscribed these *Articles* (as they were sent to them by the *Earl of Bristol*) in this manner; *Hos supra memoratos Articulos omnes ac singulos approbamus, et quicquid in iis ex nostra parte, seu nostro nomine conventum est, ratum atque gratum habemus*, approving and expressing them to be very acceptable unto them. And after they had wrought the *King* to sign these large immunities to the *Papists*, viz. *Quod Regnorum suorum Romano-Catholici persecutionem nullam patientur, molestiæve officientur, Religionis suæ causa, vel ob exercitium illorum ejusdem sacramentorum, modò iis utantur absque scandalo (quod intelligi debet inter privatos parietes) nec juramentis, aut sub alio prætextu qualicunque ordinem Religionis spectante vexabuntur*: That the *Roman Catholics* should not be interrupted in the exercise of their Religion, doing it privately without *Scandal*, nor be vexed with any oaths in order to the same. What rested but a closing of both Parties? Yet all would not do, for the *Spaniard* never intended the *Match* at all, as is evident by a Letter of the *King of Spain's* written to his Favourite, the *Conde of Olivares*, dated the Fifth of November, 1622. found among the *Lord Cottington's Papers*.

The *King my Father* declared at his Death, That his intent never was to marry my Sister, the *Infanta Donna Maria*, with the *Prince of Wales*, which your *Uncle Don Baltazer* understood, and so treated this *Match*, ever with intention to delay it, notwithstanding it is now so far advanced, that (considering all the avernsness of the *Infanta* to it) it is time to seek some means to divert the Treaty, which I would have you find out, and I will make it good whatsoever it be. But in all other things, procure the satisfaction of the *King of Great Britain* (who hath deserved much) and it shall content me, so it be not in the *Match*.

Thus was *our King's* plain heartedness deluded, his Honour blemished, his Love among his Subjects diminished, the time for a positive answer for the Dispensation from *Rome* long expired, and prolonged; his Childrens Patrimony destroyed, and he left so unsatisfied, that the *Prince* himself, and the *Marquess of Buckingham*, must go into *Spain* to unfold this Riddle, where they found it as full of *Ænigma's* as at first. He that went to tie a knot there, found it so intangled, that he took some time there to clear it; and when it was clear, he thought it best, *Scindere nodum*, to cut that at last, which he could not unloose at first.

The *Marquess Spinola* having long since left the *Palatinate* to the *Imperials Generals*, with a great Army, consisting of above Thirty thousand men, the last Summer sits down before *Berghen* up *Zome*, a Town of very great Strength and Importance, upon the Borders of *Brabant*, and incloses himself with two strong Lines of Circumvallation, notwithstanding all the Power the Town

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Spanish delusion.

The King of Spain's letter to Olivares.

Berghen besieged by Spinola.



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1622.Mansfeldt  
comes into  
Brabant.

Town could oppose from within, or *Prince Maurice*, General of the *States Army* without. And though he were well intrenched for his own *Security*, yet the *Works* of the *Town* were so impregnable, that he could find no way to gain it, but by starving them, and that could not be done but by commanding the *River*; and those Batteries that he planted to hinder the access of *Shipping* with Relief into the *Town*, were within reach of their *Cannon*, so that he found there was little good to be done, tending to the reducing of it. This struck the *Marquess* to the *Heart*, that he should bury his *Honour*, as he had done a great part of his *Army*, in those bloody Trenches, and therefore he gave scope to his *Resolution*, to make use of his time, for he converted his intentions of *Starving*, to *Affaulting*, and his assaults were the more *furious*, because he found they would not last long; and *Old Morgan*, that gallant *Colonel*, with his *English Brigade*, gave them their hands full; the *Scots* did Gallant Service in the *Town*, and their *Colonel Hinderfon* was slain; but many of the *Enemy* fell on every side; for it is a great disadvantage for living Bodies to fight against dead Walls, being so high, and unassailable. A General that goes to besiege a *City*, should have his access to it (in his apprehension) as plain as a *Mathematician* hath a *Demonstration* (except it be upon some emergent cause) otherwise there is an *Error* in his account, and there cannot be two, for the *Honour* dyes in the first, which touched the *Marquess* near, being his great trouble, and made him, and his enterprise both droop.

But while he lay there digging graves. Count *Mansfeldts* ranging *Army*, that he brought out of *Bohemia*, and those forces that remained of *Christian Duke* of *Brundswicks*, after he was beaten by *Tilly* and *Cordova*, meeting in the *Palatinate*, and finding themselves able to do little good there (the *Country* being ruined, and wanting provisions to supply them) resolved to bring their *Army* into the *Low-Countries*, being invited thereunto by the *Prince of Orange*, and the *States*, to counterpoise the formidable *Armies*, that the *King of Spain* had then in *Motion*; for though *Spinola's* hands were tyed to the *Trenches*, yet *Conduba* with one *Army*, on one side, and *Count Henry van de Berg* with another army, on the other side, were dreadful to the *Netherlands*. The *Mansfeldters* were not above twelve thousand strong, horse and foot, the *Horse* were only armed with *Pistols*, the foot with *Muskets*, scarce a *Pike*, or *Corslet* among them (for *Brundswicks* men upon their defeat for the most part had thrown away their *Armes*) Money, and Provisions, they had very little (their store being now spent) but what they could get by the *Sword*, or purchase from the *Towns*, and *Cities* (by terror) as they passed; order there was little among them, for want makes men *Brutish*, and *Ravenous*; and there was



was no way for them but to cut themselves out a passage into a plentiful *Country*. On their way divers of *Mansfieldt's* Horse mutined for Money, and came swarming about his house where he was quartered, threatening violence, and were ready to break open his doors. *Mansfieldt* having a *Spirit* full of *Magnanimity* (and finding courage best able to quail such *Attempts*) would not stay so long as to have his doors broken, but opened them himself (attended only by those of his family) with a Case of *Pistols* in his hands, and presented himself before them, and his very presence daunted them, for he did with sweet and affable language let them know his own wants were as great as theirs; and thus when they wanted other provisions he fed them with *Hopes*. But many of these *Brunts* he had born formerly, *Souldiers* are like *Gamesters*, they get a great deal of *Money* at one time, and have none at all another, and when want pinches it rages; his House hath been often beset by *Mutiners*, that threatened to tare him in pieces; and he hath opened his doors, thrown himself (as it were) among them, and demanded stoutly, *What they would have?* and having a Case of *Pistols* always by him, those near him that called for *Money* were sure to have those *Pistols* discharged in their guts: And then he would ask them again, *who would have Money?* and they would all flink away, and not a *Man* dare to open his *Mouth*; so high and overpowering a *Spirit* he had! and that only kept him from the *Rage* of *Mutiny*, for he knew his own integrity, that when he had *Money* he distributed it freely, and the more ingenious part of them knew what *Money* he had, which was brought in great Sums, from such Towns and Cities, as redeemed themselves from the *Plunder* of his *Souldiers*; so that it was not his *Hoarding* and *Covetousness*, but real want made them suffer, and that imboldned his *Spirit*; For a *General* that would be safe, when his *Souldiers* are in want, should not take refreshment so much as with the tip of his *Rod*, unless they may be partakers in it.

But with many *Necessities*, in their *March* through *Lorraine*, and *Lutzenburgh*, they came to *Fleury* within eight miles of *Namurs*, where *Corduba* with a *Spanish Army* strove to hinder their passage; The *Conflict* was great betwixt them, and many slain on both sides, and both triumphed in the *Victory*. For *Corduba* kept the *Field*, and *Mansfieldt* kept his way. But *Mansfieldt's* *Victory* was the compleatest, because he attained to his *End*, which was, to break through *Corduba*; But *Corduba* did not attain to his *End*, which was, to hinder *Mansfieldt*. Yet the *Spanish Bravery* was highly exalted with *Bonfires*, and rejoycings both at *Madrid*, and *Bruxels*. The *Duke of Brunswicke* lost his Bridle *Arm* in that service, and many *Gentlemen* both *English*

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The Battail of  
*Fleury*.

*Brunswicke's*  
Arm shot off.



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Spinola raises  
his Siege.Buckingham's  
Medicine to  
cure the King's  
melancholy.

and Scots, out of Love to the Queen of Bohemia behaved themselves gallantly, and let the Spaniard know; it was more than an ordinary shock they encountered with. Among whom Sir Charles Rich, brother to the E. of Warwick was a Principal person, whose Voluntary Spirit, not necessity, made danger his Companion, where Honour attended it. Sir James Heyes, Knevet, Humes, Heiborn and other Commanders striving for Corrivallship in Bravery.

Spinola hearing that Mansfieldt was broken through Corduba's Army, and come into Brabant, made the Court Splendor of Corduba's Conquest appear but Ignis fatui, which also something extinguish't the glory of his own fame. For he thought it good policy (seeing he should be necessitated to leave the Siege of Berghen) to do it at that time, when there might be cause to think it occasioned by that Accident more than his default. And therefore as soon as the Prince of Orange and Mansfieldt had joyned forces, though Corduba came to him and reinforced his Army, yet Winter drawing on, and his Army almost wasted, he trussed up his Baggage in haste, set his Camp a-fire, and departed, leaving to his Hungry Enemies good store of Wine, and other Provisions, in his burning Quarters. And thus stood the Ballance this year betwixt the King of Spain and the Netherlands.

But our King receiving so many delays, and dissatisfactions from Spain, and Rome, they begot him so much trouble, and Vexation, that crowding into his thoughts, prest upon his Natural Temper, some fits of Melancholy, which those about him with facetious Mirth, would strive to Mitigate; And having exhausted their inventions, or not making use of such as were more pregnant, the Marques and his Mother (instead of Mirth) fell upon Prophaneness, thinking with that to please him, and perhaps they were only mistaken in the unseasonableness of the time, being not then suitable to the Humor. For they caus'd Mistris Aspernham, a young Gentlewoman of the Kindred, to dress a Pigg like a Child; and the Old Countess, like a Midwife brought it in to the King in a rich Mantle. Turpin that married one of the Kindred (whose name was renowned for a Bishop in the Romances of the Emperor Charlemain) was dress'd like a Bishop, in his Sattin Gown, Lawn sleeves, and other Pontifical Ornaments, who (with the Common Prayer book) began the words of Baptism, one attending with a silver Basen of Water for the Service, the King hearing the Ceremonies of Baptism read, and the squeeking noise of that Brute he most abhorred, turn'd himself to see what Pageant it was, and finding Turpin's face, which he well knew, dress'd like a Bishop; and the Marques, whose face he most of all loved, stand as a Godfather; he cryed out, away for shame, what Blasphemy is this? and turning aside with a frown, he gave them cause to think that such ungodly



ungodly *Mirth* would rather increase than cure his *Melancholly*.

Another time at *Theobalds* the King wanted some papers that had *Relation* to the *Spanish Treaty*, so hot in *Motion*, which raised him highly into the *Passion* of *Anger*, that he should not know what he had done with them, being things so material, and of such *conserment*; And calling his *Memory* to a strict account, at last he discharged it upon *John Gib*, a *Scotchman*, who was of his *Bedchamber*, and had been an old *Servant* to him. *Gib* is called for in haste, and the King asks him for the *Papers* he gave him; *Gib* collecting himself; answered the King, he received no papers from him. The King broke into extream *Rage* (as he would often when the *Humor* of *Choler* began to boil in him) protesting he had them, and reviling him exceedingly for denying them. *Gib* threw himself at the *King's* feet protesting his innocence, that he never received any, and desired his life might make satisfaction for his fault if he were guilty. This could not calm the *King's Spirit* tossed in this tempest of *Passion*; and overcharged with it, as he passed by *Gib* (kneeling) threw some of it upon him; giving him a kick with his foot. Which kick infected *Gib*, and turned his humility into *Anger*; for rising instantly he said: Sir, *I have served you from my youth, and you never found me unfaithful; I have not deserved this from you, nor can I live longer with you with this disgrace; Fare ye well Sir, I will never see your face more:* and away he goes from the *King's* presence, took *Horse*, and rode towards *London*. Those about the King put on a sad countenance to see him displeased, and every man was inquisitive to know the cause; some said the King and *Gib* were fallen out; but about what? some papers of the *Spanish Treaty*, the King had given him, cannot be found. *Endimion Porter* hearing it, said, The King gave me those *Papers*, went presently, and brought them to the King, who being becalmed, and finding his *Error*, called instantly for *Gib*; *Answer* was made he was gone to *London*: The King hearing it, commanded with all expedition to send post after him, to bring him back, protesting never to Eat, Drink, or Sleep till he saw *Gib's* face. The Messenger overtook him before he got to *London*, and *Gib* hearing the *Papers* were found, and that the King sent for him with much earnestness, returned to the Court. And as he came into the *King's Chamber*, the King kneeled down upon his Knees before *Gib*, intreating his *pardon*, with a sober and grave aspect, protesting he would never rise till *Gib* had forgiven him; and though *Gib's* modestly declined it with some humble excuses, yet it would not satisfy the King, till he heard the words of *absolution* pronounced. So ingenious was he in this piece of *Passion*! Which had its suddain variation from a stern and furious anger, to a soft and melting affection, which made *Gib* no loser by the bargain.

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The King's  
Choler.

His sanguine.



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His Flegma-  
tick Humor.  
A Diet at Ra-  
tisbone. 7 Jan.

The opinion  
of the Prote-  
stant Princes.

Thus the King's *Melancholy, Cholerick, and Sanguine constitution* appeared. But of all the *Humors*, *Flegm* was now the most predominant, which made him so tamely swallow those raw fruits of *Spain*, that all his *Exercise* could not well digest.

In *January* this year, the Diet which the *Emperor* had summoned (contrary to his promise, as our *King* intimates) met at *Ratisbone*, where the *Electors* and divers other *Princes* of *Germany* assembled, either in their own persons, or by their *Deputies*. The Imperial design was to take off the edge of the *Princes* dissatisfaction, for his harsh proceedings against the *Prince Palatine*; wherein he makes him the ground work, and cause of all the *Wars*, and miseries, that have hapned in the *Empire*. And thinking no man (as he said) would take the boldness to mediate the *Restitution* of the proscribed *Palatine* into the *Electoral College*, he could do no less than dispose of the *Electorate*, now (*pleno jure*) devolved unto him, as *Emperor*, which he had bestowed on the *Duke of Bavaria* for spending his *Treasure*, and hazarding his blood in his *service*, against his own *Nephew*, the expelled *Palatine*. Wherefore he requests the illustrious presence of *Electors* and *Princes*, to give their *opinions*, how the *peace* of the *Empire* may be established, to prevent all *commotions* for the future.

The *Princes* took this *Proposition* of the *Emperor* into debate, and the *Protestant Princes* desired *Cesar* to consider the importance of the business. "That though his Imperial Majesty in his own judgment may have had Cause enough to publish the *Ban* against the *Prince Palatine*, yet they are of *Opinion*, that in his particular Cause, which so neerly concerned the disposing of an *Electorate* of the *Empire*, and so principal a *Person* of the *Electoral College* (the suddain doing whereof might occasion, long, and tedious *Wars*, dangerous to the *Roman Empire*) that *Cesar* should not of himself have proceeded so rigorously, nor without the advice, and consent, of all the rest of the *Electors*, according as it was agreed upon in the *Capitulation Royal*, which is holden for a *fundamental Law* of the *Empire*. Which course of *Cesar's*, even for the manner of proceeding in it, was distastful by *Divers*, because the *Prince Palatine* had never been legally summoned, but uncited, and unheard, without all knowledge of his Cause, and contrary to all ordinary Course, had been condemned, and against all *Equity*, oppressed by the *Publication* of that *Imperial Ban*. We purpose not to call the *Power Imperial* into question, yet we cannot but remember your Majesty of that *Promise* made in your *Capitulation* unto the *Electors*; and humbly *We admonish Cesar*, to stand unto his own word, and not to intermit the performance of it. And as for the disposing of the *Electorate*, we desire nothing more than that *We* could gratifie *Cesar* with *Our Suffrages*; But perceiving so many, and so great *Diffi-*

culties



"culties, in it, We cannot but admonish your Majesty of the danger of it. This being the Opinion of Our Electors, that seeing your Majesty hath graciously called the Diet for restoring Peace in the Empire, that it were altogether necessary first to remove the Obstacles of Peace. And seeing that all the stirrs began in Bohemia, Caesar should do well to labour first for the quieting of that Kingdom, and command a stay to be made of the severe Reformation, and frequent Executions there; That so the Hearts of your Subjects being overcome with Grace and Mercy, might be sweetly joyned to you, and all fear, and distrust, utterly taken away: without which, we see no hope, either how your Majesty can sit sure upon your Imperial Throne, or how the Electors and Princes can be freed of their fears; being evident, that the Bohemians, and others, made desperate by the Extremity of their sufferings, will take any occasion to begin new troubles, and to involve the Empire with new Dangers. All the Lutheran States of the Empire, likewise, which follow the Augustan Confession, have their Eyes upon this Bohemian Reformation, which though it were given out to be for private Justice, yet it is so linkt with the publick cause, that unless it be speedily ended, and the two Churches at Prague (granted by Rodolphus the second) not in favour of some private men alone, but of Christian Elector of Saxony, and which had continued free until of late) were again opened, and the free exercise of Religion generally permitted, We see no sure Peace likely to be in the Empire, but utter ruine rather, and final desolation, may every day be feared. Seeing it was apparently known, that it was not those that professed the Reformed Religion, who begun these troubles; but the Noblemen and great Officers, whose designs the other were compelled to obey.

"And for the Prince Palatine, seeing he is already sufficiently punished, it were far more commendable in your Majesty, that now at last upon his submission, you would be pleased to restore him to his Lands and Dignities, otherwise there is no likelihood of Restoring Peace to the Empire. And in the transferring of the Electorate, this main thing were fit to be considered; Whether the Prince Palatine, excluded in his own person, doth debar his Children, who (by the providence of their Ancestors) had before this Act of their Father, *jus adquisitum*, an Hereditary Right unto the Electorate; or the brother of the Prince Palatine, who hath no way offended your Majesty; nor, by reason of his Minority, could not; Or others of the Kindred of the Prince Palatine, should be, or ought to be in this Case neglected? If they be, it will be hardly taken of other Electors and Princes, and occasion various Distrusts, betwixt the Head and the

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*Members.* For the *Princes* allied unto the *Prince Palatine*, who have been quiet hitherto, (upon Confidence of *Cæsar's* Clemency) now perceiving all hope of that *Dignity* unto their *Family* taken away, must needs have Recourse unto *Arms*, and endeavour the *Recovery* of it by force. And if *Cæsar* should die, this *controversie* being not compounded, it may well be feared, many inconveniences will fall out, contrary to *Cæsar's* desire. For though upon the advantage of his *Victories*, he hath had the Law in his own hand, if the Wheel should turn, that side which is lowest will get up again.

Therefore We hold it more *Wisdom* to advise *Cæsar*, not to proceed too suddenly, but rather to accept the intercession of other *Electors* and *Princes*, as in such Cases hath hitherto been done. Considering the *Prince Palatine* was then but young, abused by ill *Council*, and no ways the *Author* of those *stirs* in *Bohemia*, they being in an uproar before his coming among them: And if his *Majesty* would pardon the *Prince Palatine*, he should ever oblige the whole *Electoral College*, and all the *Kings* and *Princes* allied unto him; and the *Prince* himself, and all his *posterity*, would be advised (when they remember their *Exile*) how they embroil themselves in such businests. Whereas if he saw the door of *Mercy* quite shut, and nothing left him but his life, it would make both him, and his, desperate to attempt, so as there would be no end of the Troubles in the *Roman Empire*. *Cæsar* therefore should do far righter, if for his own *Honour*, and the *publick* good, he would prefer mercy before severity, and not pursue these *Extremities*.

The opinion  
of the Popish  
Princes.

To these things the *Catholick Princes* said, That *Cæsar* had shown Causes enough which he had to deprive the *Palatine*, and the *Palatinate* being devolved to him, he might dispose of it, without having regard to the *Palatine* line, according to his own pleasure. That his *Majesty* could not well hold any terms of Amity with him, though he were restored; and this impunity would give occasion unto others to offend. As for the matter of Punishment, there would be little difference between the *Emperor*, and the *Palatine*, seeing that his *Majesty's* Lands and Dominions, are no less wasted than the others, and yet there is great difference in the cause; for this fell out to *Cæsar* without his *Demerit*, and the *Palatine* did the other, having no necessity to it. That he had refused mercy, in not acknowledging his fault, nor seeking for favour. And it is an unequal Request for *Cæsar* to accept of any Reconciliation, whilst his *General Mansfieldt* is yet in the field, and prosecutes his cause by force of Arms. The safety of the *Empire* consisting in the filling up of the *Electoral College*, *Cæsar* hath done very well in a speedy resolving on it, and other *Emperors* in the like causes have done the same before.

The Reply of  
the Protestant  
Princes.

To which the other party answered: That for the security of the *Imperial Dignity*, and safety of the *Empire*, there is no question, but that



that it consisted in the Concord of the Electoral College, with the Emperor. And the Prince Palatine hath (as you say) done amiss, yet if Cæsar shall still use Rigor, the Princes of the lower Saxony are of Opinion, there can be no Peace established in the Empire, the good of which being most worthy to be preferred, Cæsar should do wisely to suffer himself to be intreated, and change Rigor into Clemency, making the Empire by that means glad with a desired Peace, otherwise new flames were likely to break out, in those places which yet are preserved from burning. That Cæsar had now by the aid of the Electors, and Princes, recovered his lost Provinces, and wanting nothing but quiet possession of them, which, this desired Reconciliation was the best means to effect. The hand of War may be lifted up, but who knows where the stroke will fall? and Victory is so long uncertain, as the adverse party hath power to re-inforce his Arms. And for the renewing of the War, there is yet a fair pretence left, for that in bestowing the Electorate, the Prince Palatine's sons, and brother have been neglected, and with these Principles are the minds of many of the Princes of the Empire already possessed. The King of Great Britain besides could not but take it ill that he should now see all his endeavours take no good effect, but his only daughter and her Children, left in exile. And as for the manner of this Reconciliation, there might be a particular Treaty, and Consultation, wherein Cæsar's Prerogative imperial being reserved, all parties might receive Satisfaction, and the Empire once again flourish in Peace. If these Remedies be not applied it will produce ill blood, yea Heart-burnings, and distrusts, in the Electoral College it self.

These several answers delivered to the Emperor, the twentieth of January, he replied unto, thanking them for their consultations. And though some (saith he) have wisely heretofore resolved us, that our proceedings in proscribing the Palatine was both legal and necessary, yet now we perceive some of you are of opinion that according to our Capitulation Royal, we ought not to have proceeded so far, without the Knowledge, and consent of the Electors. But as we have now gone beyond this our Capitulation, but even before we set out the Ban, punctually considered all that was necessary to be taken notice of; so did we also desire nothing more then that a Diet might be convoked, for the due treating and advising upon this Business: which meeting being impeded by the prosecution of the War by the Palatine, we could do no less, to take down his courage, than publish the Ban against him: which course of ours, seeing it was never intended to be prosecuted to the prejudice of the Electoral College, or against our own Capitulation, we hope that the Electors will not take it otherwise; being that we promise withal, so to moderate it, that no detriment, or prejudice shall result thereby unto the Dignity Electoral.

As for the Translation of the Electorate, and your advice for Restoring of the Palatinate, there is (I perceive) some difference in your Opinions. One part wisely, and in favour of us, affirming the great Reason

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rour's Reply.  
The Elector  
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Reason we have to do it. But for the other party, which adviseth his Restoring, we purpose not so far to consent unto it, as to the restoring of him to the Electoral Dignity, seeing that in the disposing of it other where, we are resolved that we shall do no more than we have just reason to do: nor will we defer the filling up of the Electoral College, because the dispatching of it doth so much concern the Common good. But for the Restitution of the Person of the Palatine, you shall see how much our Mind is inclined towards clemency, and how far we will declare Our self to gratifie the King of Great Britain, the King of Denmark, the Elector of Saxony, and other Electors, and Princes, interceding for him.

And as concerning our forbidding the Exercise of the Lutheran Religion in the City of Prague; we do not see how it any way concerns this Diet to inquire of; our Letter have signified the causes that moved us to begin it unto the Elector of Saxony, nor can we think that what we have done there, any of the Neighbour States or Territories, need be suspicious of, seeing that we have sworn oftner than once in the Word of an Emperour, that we will most Religiously observe the Peace, both of Religion, and civil Government, throughout the Empire. And thus much we could not but advertise this Illustrious Presence of Electors, and Princes, and you the Ambassadors of those that are absent.

The Protestant answer.

The Protestant Electors, and Princes, still persisted in their Resolution, that the Emperour could not translate the Electorate legally, the words of the Capitulation, being clearly these. In all difficult businesses, no process ought to be made, without the knowledge and consent of the Electors; and that without ordinary process, no prescription should go out against any one of the States of the Empire, before the cause were heard. This is the fundamental Law of the Empire, which required no more, but to be constantly observed, nor is it to be drawn into further dispute, or deliberation. And it stood the Electors upon, to be open eyed, to see to the observation of it, being it concerned the three Secular Electors especially, whose Dignity, did by an Hereditary Right descend unto their Posterity, to keep it safe, and entire, which they hoped that Caesar would not contradict.

Result of all.

But the Emperour would not be perswaded from his own Resolution, yet in conclusion, to gratifie the Princes, he was contented to confer the Electorate, with a Proviso, that the investiture of the Duke of Bavaria, should not be prejudicial to the children of the Palatine; and so the Diet ended.

23. Feb.

The Duke of Saxony was one of the first that executed the Imperial Bann against the Prince Palatine, assisting the Emperour with a great Army, to level the Power of his fellow Elector, when he mounted to be a King, and came so near him as Prague, but when he was brought thus low, he would willingly have raised him up again, and then, the Hand that had done him so much mischief was not permitted to do him any good. But by



by the carriage of the *Business* (though the *Emperour* gave fair words) it did after appear, the *Austrian Policy* aimed at the *Ex-tirpation* of *Religion*, as well as at the exclusion of the *Palatine* and his *Children*; for he never meant them *Title*, nor *Territory*, unless he could settle both upon a *Popish Foundation*; and to that end there was a private *Treaty* broached in *England*, and carried on by some of *Our King's Ministers of State*; That the Young *Prince Palatine*, should be bred up in the *Emperour's Court*, under pretence of marrying his *Daughter*, but in effect to be trained up in the *Popish Religion*: And our *Prince Charles* at the same time must fetch his *Wife* in *Spain*; where they hoped the influence of that *Air*, their *Visible Piety*, and their invisible *Plots* would sweetly insinuate their *Popish Principles* into him. So impiously cunning they are to make others as miserable as themselves.

The ending of the *Diet* in *Germany*, and our *Prince's Journey* into *Spain*, were much about a time. He went with the *Marquess of Buckingham* privately from Court the 17. of *February* to *New-Hall* in *Essex*, the *Marquess's House* (purchased of that unthrif, *Robert Earl of Sussex*) and from thence the next day by *Graves-End* the straight way to *Dover*, attended onely by Sir *Richard Graham*, Master of the *Marquess's Horse*, where they were to meet Sir *Francis Cottington*, who was thought fit to be the *Prince's Secretary*, and *Endimion Porter*, who was then taken from the *Marquess's Bed-Chamber* to wait upon the *Prince*. *Cottington* was at first, Clerk to Sir *Charles Cornwallis* his *Secretary*, when *Cornwallis* was *Ambassadour* in *Spain*; and being left there an *Agent*, in the *Intervals* of *Ambassadours*, was by that means trained up in the *Spanish* affairs: *Porter* was bred up in *Spain* when he was a *Boy*, and had the *Language*, but found no other *Fortune* there, then brought him over to be Mr. *Edward Villers* his man, in *Fleetstreet*, which was before either the *Marquess* or his Master were acceptable at *White-Hall*. And *Graham* at first was an underling of low degree in the *Marquess's Stable*. It is not hereby intended to vilifie the persons, being men (in this *World's lottery*) as capable of advancement as others; but to show in how poor a *Bark*, the *King* ventured the rich freight his *Son*, having onely the *Marquess* to steer his *Course*.

The *Prince* and *Buckingham* had false *Beards* for disguizes, to cover their smooth *Faces*, and the names of *Jack Smith*, and *Tom Smith*, which they past with, leaving behind them impressions in every place (with their bounty, and presence) that they were not the *Persons* they presented; but they were not so rudely dealt with as to be questioned till they came to *Dover*, and there the *Mayor* in a *Supercilious Officiousness* (which may deserve the title of a careful *Magistrate*) examined them so far, (being jealous they were *Gentlemen* going over to fight) that

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Austrian policy.

The Prince's journey into Spain.

By Dover.

the



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Paris.

the *Marquess* (though *Admiral*) was glad to Vail his *Beard* to him in private, and tell him he was going to visit the Fleet, so they had liberty to take Ship, and landed at *Bulloign* the same day, making swift *Motion* by *Post-Horses* (which *celerity* leaves the least impression) till they came to *Paris*; There the *Prince* spent one day to view the *City* and *Court*, shadowing himself the most he could under a Bushy *Peruque*, which none in former times but bald people used, but now generally intruded into a fashion; and the *Prince's* was so big, that it was hair enough for his whole face. The *Marquesses* fair Face was shadowed with the same Pencil, and they both together saw the *Queen-Mother* at Dinner, the King in the Gallery after Dinner, and towards the Evening they had a full view of the *Queen-Infanta*, and the *Princess Henrietta Maria*, with most of the *Beauties* of the *Court*, at the practice of a Masking Dance, being admitted by the *Duke of Montbason*, the *Queens* Lord Chamberlain in *Humanity* to Strangers, when many of the *French* were put by. There the *Prince* saw those *Eyes* that after inflamed his *Heart*, which increased so much, that it was thought to be the cause of setting Three Kingdoms afire; but whether any spark of it did then appear, is uncertain; if it did, it was closely raked up, till the *Spanish* fire went out; the heat whereof made him neglect one time till he came to *Madrid*.

Burdeaux.

At *Burdeaux*, the *Duke D'Espernon*, Governour there, out of a noble freedom to Strangers, offered them the *Civilities* of his *House*, which they declined with all bashful respects, and *Sr Francis Cottington* who always looked like a Merchant, and had the least *Miene* of a *Gentleman* (fittest for such an employment) let him know, they were Gentlemen that desired to improve themselves, and had not Breeding suitable to his Grandeur; which took off the edge of his invitation, whose subtle *Eye* by *Converse* might have pryed through those fictitious out-sides, to discover more then did appear.

Bayone.

They pass with some difficulties also at *Bayone*, where the Count *de Gramant* was Governour, (being the utmost part of *France*, and the *Key*, that opens the *Way* into *Spain*) he being a pregnant man read more than ordinary in them; but where *Peace* is the *School-Master*, *Jealousie* the Pragmatical *Usher* hath little to do; therefore out of *Common Civility* he let them pass. And within a small time after they had taken *Post* (before they had well passed the *Bounds* of *France*) he had notice by a *Courier*, (that brought Advice thereof to the King of *Spain*), from *Don Carlos de Coloma*, Extraordinary *Ambassadour* in *England*, (*Gondemar* for his good Service being sent for home, and advanced) that the *Prince* of *England* was among them. This Hazard the *Prince* ran, upon *Post-Horses*, that if he had been discovered, it would not only have questioned his Judgment, in the managing of so great an Affair,



but he must have remained at the *French mercy*, which would have given an *Eclipse* to the *glory* he shined in, in the *Court of Spain*, for they looked upon this *sprightly* journey, as a high *re-marque* of a *Gallant* and *Noble spirit*; And happily some *Spanish Fancy* may now be framing, how many *Gyant Difficulties* he conquered in the way, and what *Inchantments* he passed among the *beauties of France*: for such *Romances* are frequent among those barren *Rosemary Mountaines*, the *fume* whereof is pleasant and helpful to the brain.

Upon *Saturday* the sixth of *March*, they arrived at *Madrid*. The *Prince* and *Marquess* came thither one day before *Cottingham*, and the others, to make the less noise in *appearances*. They lighted at the *Earl of Bristol's* house, in the evening, and the *Marquess* brought into the *Portmantua*, but his Master staid without with the *Guide*, till he had prepared a way for *Privacy*. The *Earl of Bristol* was astonished at the sight, but after he had collected himself, his *Diligence* attended his *Duty*, and the *Prince* wanted nothing but *Counsel* how to order himself, which they took time (till the next day towards the *Evening*) to deliberate on. All that morning the *Town* was filled with *Rumours* of the arrival of some great *Prince*, and though the *King of Spain* had intimation by his *Letters*, yet he kept all private till the *Prince* exprest himself, which was done that *Evening*. For *Buckingham* and *Bristol* went to the *Court*, and had private *Audience* of the *King*, who sent his *Grand favourite Olivares* back with them to congratulate the *Princes* coming, who let the *Prince* know how happy the *King* his Master was in the injoyment of him there, and what addition of *Grandure* his presence would contribute to the *Court of Spain*, and that the *obligation* was so great, that he deserved to have the *Infanta* thrown into his *Armes*. All this while kneeling, kissing his hands, and embracing his *Thigh*! the *Huge* and swelling expressions of *Spanish Humility*. And from him he went to the *Marquess of Buckingham*, telling him, That now the *Prince of England* was in *Spain*, his Master and he would divide the *World* betwixt them, with other *Rodomontado* fancies. And after he was gone, about ten of the *Clock* that night, the *King of Spain* came in a close *Coach* to *Visit* the *Prince*, who having intimation of his coming (such secret *Hints* among *Princes* being suitable *invitements*) he met him in the way, and there they spent some time in those *sweet*, yet formal *Caresses* and *Imbraces*, that are incidents to the interviews of great *Princes*, though their *Hearts* and *Tongues* do seldom accord. *Gondemar* in consort was not without his *Strain of Complement*, for he told the *Prince* upon a *Visit* next day; that he had strange news to tell him; which was, That an *Englishman* was sworn a *privy-Councillour* to the *King of Spain*; meaning himself, who he said was an *Englishman* in *Heart*, and had lately received that *Honour*.

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At Madrid.



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Rides in State  
to the Court.

and

The next day the *King* and *Prince* had some interviews in their Coaches passing to the *Parada* to take the *Air*, where also he had a glimpse of his fair Mistress, but the *Formality* of the *Princes* entertainment was deferred till his lodgings were made ready in the *Court*, which was the *Sunday* following, being that day invited to *Dinner* to *St. Hierome's Monastery*, where the *King* commanded divers of his great Officers to attend upon the *Prince*, which they did bare-headed, and they say it was according to the old *Custom* of *Castile*; but *King Philip* when he was in *England* found that *Respect*, and retained it ever after in *Spain*. The *Prince* would have prevented their *Ceremony* to him, but they are stubborn, and pertinacious in their very *humility*. After dinner the *King* came in *Person*, with his *Favorite Olivares* and divers others of the *Nobility* in Coaches, with intention on horseback (for the more *State*) to conduct the *Prince* through the *Town* to the *Court*, having horses and all accoutremens fit for such a *Royal Train*. And thus mounted they rode in great *Glory*, through the streets (being adorned with rich *Tapistry* and rare *Pictures*) as their *Kings* do to their *Coronation*. The *Spanish civility* placed the *Prince* on the *Right* hand of the *King*, under a rich cloth of *Estate*, supported by many Persons of *Quality*; *Olivares* and *Buckingham* went next the *Canopy*, and after them the rest of their *Grandeess* in their several *Degrees*, most glorious every where to behold, the choice *Beauties* of the *Town* and *Court*, presenting themselves to see and to be seen. At the *Court gate* they dismounted, and then a new friendly strife began who should enter *First*, and because that should breed no difference they went both together. The *Queen* and the *Infanta* from a *Window* in the *Court*, saw them come riding in triumphant *Equipage*, and when they alighted the *Infant* retired, and the *Queen* went to her *Chamber*, expecting a *Visit*; and when the *King* and *Prince* entred her *Chamber*, she rose to meet them making an *Obeysance* to the *Prince*, suitable to her *Greatness* and *His*; and he bowing to the *Ground* almost in *Obedience* to *Her*, were both as great *Patterns* of *Civility*, and *courtesie* to the rest of their *Train*. And after some *Compliments* they sat down in three *Royal Seats* prepared for them, the *Queen* in the *Middle*, the *Prince* on her right hand, and the *King* on her left. And in this *Stately* posture they discoursed away some half an hours time, and then they parted. The *Queen* brought the *Prince* to the utmost extent of her *Chamber*, and the *King* to a *Chamber* prepared for him (with many *Rooms* of *State*, *Sumptuously* adorned, where he left him to his own *Attendance*, and some great *Spanish Condes*, as *Principal Officers* of his *Household*, *Gondemar* ever being one about him. Two dayes after, the *Prince* was invited to run at the *Ring*, where his fair *Mistress* was a *Spectator*, and to the *Glory* of his fortune, and the great *Contentment*



ment both of himself, and the *Lookers* on, he took the *Ring* the very first *Course*. So seasonable are these little empty *joyes*, when they are suitable to our *Minds* and *Wishes*.

All that the *Spanish Court* could do was heightened into *Gallantry* and *Civilities* to the *Prince*, yet he saw not his fair *Mistress* but at an undiscerning distance, and in *transitu*, as she came from *Church*. But after all these *Splendid*, and glorious out-side *Ceremonies* of entertainment, were grown a little old, the *Prince* began to mind the business he came about, and desired a more intimate access to his beloved *Infanta*, which *Olivares* promised from day to day to accomplish, but still delayed; and at length, when unperformed *promises* were heightened into *Shame*, he plainly confessed, That it was agreed by the King and his Council, that he might not see her as a *Lover*, till the *Dispensation* came; for it would give scandal to admit him before, yet not to starve him quite in his *Desires* (but to keep him short that he should not *surfeit*) he had now and then Access to her as a *Prince*, in a publick way, the *King of Spain* being always present, and the *Earl of Bristol* Interpreter, so that nothing could be spoken, but those little superficial Compliments, that served as Baits rather to nibble on, than satisfy. But these *small Repasts* kept up the *Appetite*.

And now the *Glories* of the *English Court* left the Northern *Sun* declining to the *West*, and came to see the *Sun* rising in *Spain*. The *Marquess of Buckingham's* new Title of *Duke* came to him also, (that he might be in the highest Rank among the *Spanish Grandees*) to beard the proudest of them; which afterwards he did. And the *Viscount Doncaster* (lately made *Earl of Carlile*) came in all his *Glories*; of which two, it was observed by knowing *Men*, That *Buckingham* came into *Spain* of the *Spanish Faction*, and returned into *England* of the *French Faction*: *Carlile* came into *Spain* of the *French Faction*, and returned into *England* of the *Spanish*; thus varying the *Scene* by fits, and acting their parts as the present fancy moved them. The *Lord Kensington* Captain of the Guard to our *King*, came also to see the *Prince*, so did the *Earl of Denbigh*, *Edward*, Son and Heir to the now *Earl of Manchester*, The *Viscount Mandevill*, the *Viscount Rochford*, and divers others of the *Nobility*; And the *Prince* was so circled with a *Splendid Retinue* of his own people, that it might be said, *There was an English Court in the King of Spain's Pallace*.

But together with these specious entertainments there were underworking *Hopes* to have the *Prince* turn *Papist*, for (in intervenient *Discourses*) *Olivares*, and others, would press him (with all the *Arguments* the Court had instructed them in) to a *conversion*; intimating how smooth a path it would make to the *Infanta's* affections; for when he, that was to be *Lord* of her heart and

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His Royal entertainment.

The English Nobility flock into Spain.

The Spanish strive to pervert the Prince.



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and the best friend she had, would be an Enemy to her *Religion*, it could be but a great *Obstacle* to her *Love*. And when the *Danger* of it was proposed to them, as likely to bring a *Rebellion* in the *Nation*, if their *Prince* should be perverted, they promised to assist him with an *Army* against such rebellious people. But if he would not admit of a present, and suddain alteration publikely, yet that he would be so indulgent when the *Infanta* came into *England*, as to listen to her in *Matters* of *Religion*, which the *Prince* promised to do. Nay, his own familiar friend *Bristol* (as it was *Articled* against him afterwards by *Buckingham*) did strive with a gentle hand to allure him that way, as bringing with it an addition to the *Grandure* of the *King's* of *England*, that none of them could ever do great things, that were not of that *Religion*.

Thus was the *Prince* beset, and Time ran away in *Discourses*. The *Dispensation* being purposely delayed, for some at that time in the *Spanish Court*, said it was come, and sent back again to *Rome*, (being too forward, and active) that it might have more weight put upon it, and then it would not make so much haste, for now it came too soon to dispatch their worke. For the subtilly considered, that *Time* and continual dropping, might leave those impressions upon the *Prince's spirit*, that *Dispatches* cannot effect. Therefore they made new *Queries*, and clapt new *Remora's* upon the *Articles*, that being tangled in *Disputations* betwixt *England* and *Spain*, and in *controversies* of *Religion* betwixt the *Prince*, and some of their cunning *Sophisters*, (which they set a work) that before the way could be well cleared on both sides, their *Design* (which was the *Prince's Perversion*) might mature and ripen. For the *Earl of Bristol* confessed afterwards, That it was a general received *Opinion* in the *Spanish Court*, that the *Prince* came thither with intention to be a *Roman Catholic*; And *Gondemar* pressed *Bristol* not to hinder so pious a work, assuring him, they had the *Duke of Buckingham's* assistance therein.

So doth the  
Pope.

And it was evident enough their hopes were great, by the *Pope's* letter to the *Bishop of Conchen*, Inquisitor general in *Spain*: Wherein, he excites him, not to slip the *Opportunity*, providence had put into his hand, of extending his *Piety* to the outtermost *Nations*. The *Prince* of *England* being now in the *Court* of *Spain*, that glorious Temple (as it were) that hath been a *Bulwark* to the *Pontifical Authority*, and an *Academy* for propagation of *Religion*, he desires he may not stay there in vain, but that some of the impressions of the *Piety*, of so many *Catholick Kings*, as have lived there, may be imprinted on him; that he may be won with all sweetness, as many of his noble *Ancestors* have been, who have submitted their *Crowned heads*, and *Imperiall power* to the *Roman Obedience*. And to his glorious *Victory*, and *Eternal Triumph*



*Triumph of Celestial Beatitudes, the Treasures of Kings, and Legions of Souldiers cannot contribute, but the Weapons of Light that must come from Heaven, whose Splendor inlightning the Prince's Eyes, shall dazle his Errors, and establish his mind in meekness. And he charges the Bishop, and all his Fraternity, to use the best strength, and industry, they can to this purpose. So that the Prince was continually laid at, by the insinuating Orations of cunning Jesuits; the fained, and coufening Miracles of reclused Holiness; the Splendid and Specious Solemnities of their Formal Processions; the rare, and admirable Pictures of their reputed Saints; besides many other painted devices, and subtle Artifices, brooded among them.*

And the Pope used all the Rhetorick of his Cabalistical Consistory, and Holy Chair, to charm him to his Obedience, as may be seen by this Letter which he writ to him himself.

**M**ost Noble Prince, Health and Light of Divine Grace. *Forasmuch as Great Britain hath always been fruitful in Vertues, and Men of Merit, having filled the one and the other World with the Glory of Her Renown: She doth also very often attract the thoughts of the Holy Apostolical Chair, to the consideration of her praises. And indeed the Church was but then in her Infancy, when the King of Kings did choose her for his Inheritance, and so affectionately, that it is thought the Roman Eagles prevailed not so much as the Banner of the Crois. Besides that many of her Kings instructed in the Knowledge of the true Salvation, have preferred the Crois before the Royal Scepter, and the Discipline of Religion before Covetousness, leaving Examples of Piety to other Nations, and to the Ages yet to come; so, as having Merited the principal and chief Places of Blessedness in Heaven, they have obtained on Earth the Triumphant Ornaments of true Holiness. And although now the State of the English Church be altered, yet we see the Court of Great Britain adorned and furnished with Moral Vertues, which might serve to support the Charity that We bear unto Her, and be an Ornament to the name of Christianity; if withal She could have for her defence and Protection, the Orthodox and Catholike Truth. Wherefore by how much the Glory of your most Noble Father, and the apprehension of your Royal Disposition, delights Us, with so much more Zeal, We desire that the Gates of the Heavenly Kingdom, might be opened unto you, and that you might purchase to your self the Love of the Universal Church. Moreover it being Certain that Gregory the Great of most blessed Memory, hath introduced to the English people, and taught their Kings, the law of the Gospel, and the respect to Apostolical Authority; We as inferior to him in Holiness and Virtue, but equal in Name and Degree of Dignity, it is very reasonable that We following his blessed Steps, should endeavour the Salvation of those Provinces, especially at this time, when your Happy Design (most Noble*

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By his Letters:



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Noble Prince) elevates Us to the Hope of an extraordinary advantage. And as you have taken a Journey into Spain to the Catholike King, with desire to allye your Self to the House of Austria, so We do commend your Design, and indeed do testifie openly in this present Business, That you are he that takes principal Care of our Prelacy. For seeing that you desire to take in Marriage the Daughter of Spain, We may easily from thence conjecture, That the ancient seeds of Christian Piety which have so happily flourished in the Hearts of the Kings of Great Britain, May (God prospering them) revive again in your Soul. And indeed it is not to be believed, that he that loves such an alliance should hate the Catholike Religion, and delight to oppress the Holy Chair. To that purpose We have commanded to make continually most humble Prayers to the Father of Lights, That he would be pleased to put you as a fair Flower of Christendom, and the onely Hope of Great Britain, in possession of that most noble Heritage, that your Ancestors have purchased for you, to defend the Authority of the Sovereign High Priest, and to fight against the Monsters of Heresie. Remember the dayes of old, enquire of your Fathers, and they will tell you the Way that leads to Heaven, and what way Temporal Princes have taken to gain an Eternal Kingdom. Behold the Gates of Heaven opened, the most holy Kings of England (who came from England to Rome accompanied with Angels) did come to Honour, and do Homage to the Lord of Lords and to the Prince of the Apostles, in the Apostolical Chair: their Actions, and Examples, being as so many Voices of God, speaking and exhorting you to follow the course of the Lives of those, to whose Empire you shall one day attain.

Is it possible that you can suffer Hereticks should hold them for impious, and condemn those whom the Faith of the Church testifies to reign in Heaven with Jesus Christ, and have command, and authority over all Principalities, and Empires of the Earth? Behold how they tender you the hand of this truly happy inheritance, to Conduct you Safe and Sound to the Court of the Catholike King; And now desire to bring you back again into the bosom of the Roman Church: beseeching with unspeakable sighs and groans the God of all Mercy for your Salvation, and do stretch out to you the Arms of the Apostolical Charity, to embrace you with all Christian affection; even you, that are her desired Son, in shewing you the happy Hope of the Kingdom of Heaven. And indeed you cannot give a greater Consolation to all the people of the Christian World, then to put the Prince of the Apostles, in possession of your most noble Island, whose Authority hath been held so long in the Kingdom of Britain for the defence of Kingdoms, and for a Divine Oracle, the which will easily arrive, and without Difficulty, if you open your Heart to the Lord that knocks, upon which depends all the happiness of that Kingdom. It is from this our great Charity that we cherish the Praises of the Royal Name, and that which makes



makes us desire that you and your Royal Father might be styled with the name of Deliverers, and Restorers of the ancient, and Paternal Religion of Great Britain. This is it we hope for, trusting in the Goodness of God, in whose hands are the Hearts of Kings, and who causeth the People of the Earth to receive Healing; to whom we will alwayes labour with all our Power to render you gracious and favourable. In the interim take notice by these Letters, the care of our Charity, which is none other then to procure your Happiness; and it will never grieve us to have written them, if the reading of them stir but the least spark of Catholick Faith in the heart of so great a Prince, whom we wish to be filled with long continuance of Joy, and flourishing in the Glory of all Virtues. Given at Rome in the Palace of St. Peter, the 20. of April. 1623. in the third year of our Pope-dom.

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This Letter of the Pope's expressees not only the sleek, and smooth waies, that Soul-merchant takes to purchase his Profelytes, but the end he proposes to himself; which is, to bring them under the Roman Obedience, otherwise whatsoever they do or profess is Heresie. And to build up the Towers of this great Babel, the name of the most high God is brought down among them, and used as a Master Builder. Every Profession layes that name as a Foundation, though the Superstructure be but straw and stubble of Hypocrisie, which a whirl-wind shall scatter, and the time is coming that her Lovers shall be destroyed, and fiery-cloven tongues shall confound their Language. The Prince was not slack in answering this Letter, which happily he might think would quicken the Pope to dispatch the Dispensation, when he should find so little cause for Delays, by his closing so nearly with him. Which whether out of Policy or Real intention cannot be asserted, but the Letter was thus.

The Pope's cunning.

**M**OST Holy Father, I received the Dispatch from your Holiness with great content, and with that Respect which the Piety, and care wherewith your Holiness writes, doth require. It was an unspeakable pleasure to me to read the Generous exploits of the Kings my Predecessors, to whose Memory Posterity hath not given those praises, and Elogies of Honour, that were due to them. I do believe that your Holiness hath set their Example before my Eyes, to the end that I might imitate them in all my Actions, for in truth they have often exposed their Estates, and Lives for the exaltation of the Holy Chair; And the courage with which they have assaulted the Enemies of the Cross of Jesus Christ hath not been less then the Care and thought which I have; to the end that the Peace and Intelligence, which hath hitherto been wanting in Christendom, might be bound with a bond of true concord: for like as the common Enemy of Peace, watcheth alwayes to put hatred and Dissention between Christian Princes, so I believe that the Glory of God

The Prince's answer.

Hh

requires



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requires that we should endeavour to unite them. And I do not esteem it a greater Honour to be descended from so great Princes, then to imitate them in the Zeal of their Piety. In which it helps me very much to have known the Mind and Will of our Thrice Honoured Lord and Father, and the Holy Intentions of his Catholick Majesty to give a happy Concurrence to so laudable a Design: For it grieves him extreamly, to see the great Evil that grows from the Division of Christian Princes, which the Wisdom of your Holiness foresaw, when it judged the Marriage, which you pleased to design, between the Infanta of Spain and my self, to be necessary to procure so great a good; For 'tis very certain, that I shall never be so extreamly affectionate to any thing in the World, as to endeavour alliance with a Prince that hath the same apprehension of the true Religion with my self. Therefore I intreat your Holiness to believe that I have been alwayes far from encouraging Novelties, or to be a Partisan of any faction against the Catholick, Apostolick, Roman Religion. But on the contrary, I have sought all occasions to take away the suspicion that might rest upon me; and that I will imploy my self for the Time to come, to have but one Religion, and one Faith, seeing that we all believe in One Jesus Christ. Having resolved in my self to spare nothing that I may have in the World, and to suffer all manner of Discommodities, even to the hazarding of my estate and life, for a thing so pleasing unto God. It rests only that I thank your Holiness for the permission which you have been pleased to afford me, and that I may pray God to give you a blessed Health here, and his Glory, after so much travel, which your Holiness takes within his Church.

Signed,

CHARLES STUART.

A fatal Letter.

It may well be a Quere, Whether this profession of the Prince, in suffering all discommodities, even to the Hazarding of Estate and Life, did not rest upon him at his Death? as may be said hereafter; But there is a long Race for him to run, before he come to that End. It seems he had either a good Will to write this Letter, or a bad Council to indite it, or both conjoynd, that were as careful to please the Pope as they were hopeful it would never come to see the light, till the flame of it would be too visible. For if the Prince intended Really (when he had power) to introduce Popery into England, this Letter in a bloody colour too apparently would have been discovered; and if his intentions were formal, and only to close with the Pope for his present accommodation, how black would every Character of this letter look to the Roman Rubrick, and what a Tincture of Scandal would it leave upon the true Religion? for *Fallere fallentem*, may be a fit Motto for a bad man, not a good Christian; so that whatsoever his Intentions were, the Act was evill: And I could suspect it



it is a forged Letter, but that it hath been asserted by so many Authors both at home and abroad.

The Pope finding by this letter, and some other private intimations, the Princes good affections to the *Roman See*, thought it high time to dally no longer, but to draw him altogether with the *Cords of Love*; therefore he dispatches the *Dispensation* to his *Nuntio* at *Madrid*, six months after the Prince's arrival there, with a little *Bob* at the Tail of it, yet to amuse them: Which was, That the King of Great Britain, and the Prince, should give *Caution* to perform what was stipulated between them and the King of Spain, especially in those *Articles* which were in favour of the *Roman Catholics* in *England*, and other his Majesty's Dominions; Requiring at least, some *Sovereign Catholic* Prince should engage for them by oath. This made some little demur, for being sent into *England*, the King answered, That he could give no other *Caution* but his own, and the Princes *Royal Words* and *Oaths*, Confirmed by his *Council of State*, and Exemplified under the great *Seal of England*. But this would not satisfy. Therefore the King of Spain undertook it, and it was thought a *Spanish Device*, That by undertaking such an engagement, he might not only the more endear himself to the King of Great Britain, and to the Prince his Brother, but have a more colourable pretext to make War against *England*, if the *Roman Catholics* there had not full satisfaction and freedom according to the *Articles*, and the King of Spain knowing or assuring himself that no Catholic Prince would take such an Oath, offered himself to satisfy the Pope. And a Committee of *Ecclesiasticks* in Spain were appointed to debate the Case in Relation to the King's conscience, whether he might take such an Oath for them? and they (being doubtless resolved on it before) concluded affirmatively. And that if the King of Great Britain, and Prince should fail in the performance of these *Capitulations*, the King of Spain might save his Oath, by vindicating the Breach thereof upon them with his *Sword*. And now this *Monster-difficulty* being overcome by the *Spanish bravery*, the very same time *Articles* that our King and Prince had signed (as are before related) were sent into *England* for our King and his privy Council to swear to, and there was not a Rub left for either party to stumble at.

But whilst these things were in motion in Spain, they were much regretted, and badly resented in *England*. The Spirit almost of the whole Nation being averse to this Union, which made many vent their *Passion* by their *Pens*, as well as their tongues. Amongst the rest the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, knowing that a *Toleration* was to be admitted (though he stood tottering in the King's favour, and had the badge of a *Puritan*

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The Dispensation comes to Madrid.



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The Archbishops letter to the King against a Toleration;

clapt upon him) thought it better to discharge his Conscience, though he hazarded all, rather than be silent in such a Cause, where the Glory of God, and the Good of the Kingdom were so highly concerned. Therefore he writes this letter to the King :

*May it please your Majesty,*  
**I** Have been too long silent, and am afraid by my Silence I have neglected the Duty of the Place it hath pleased God to call me unto, and your Majesty to place me in. And now I humbly crave leave I may discharge my Conscience towards God and my Duty to your Majesty : And therefore I beseech your Majesty give me leave freely to deliver my self, and then let your Majesty do with me what you please. Your Majesty hath propounded a Toleration of Religion : I beseech you Sir, take into your consideration, what the Act is, next what the consequence may be. By your Act you labour to set up that most Damnable and Heretical Doctrine of the Church of Rome, the Whore of Babylon. How Hateful will it be to God, and grievous unto your good Subjects, the true Professors of the Gospel ; that your Majesty, who hath often disputed, and learnedly written against those wicked Heresies, should now shew your self a Patron of those Doctrines, which your Pen hath told the World, and your Conscience tells your Self, are Superstitious, Idolatrous, and Detestable ? Add hereunto what you have done in sending the Prince into Spain, without the consent of your Council, the Privy and Approbation of your People. And though, Sir, you have a large interest in the Prince, as the Son of your Flesh, yet hath the people a greater, as the Son of the Kingdom, upon whom (next after your Majesty) their Eyes are fixed, and Welfare depends. And so tenderly is his going apprehended, as believe it Sir, however his return may be safe, yet the drawers of him to that Action so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the Kingdom, will not pass away unquestioned, and unpunished. Besides this Toleration which you endeavour to set up by Proclamation, cannot be done without a Parliament, unless your Majesty would let your Subjects see, That you will take unto your self a liberty to throw down the Laws of the Land at your Pleasure. What dreadful Consequence these things may draw after them, I beseech your Majesty to consider. And above all, lest by this Toleration, and discontinuance of the true profession of the Gospel, whereby God hath blessed us, and under which this Kingdom hath for many years flourished, your Majesty do not draw upon the Kingdom in general, and your Self in particular, God's heavy wrath and indignation. Thus in discharge of my Duty towards God, to your Majesty, and the place of my Calling, I have taken humble Boldness to deliver my Conscience. And now, Sir, do with me what you please.

Thus did our Solomon in his latter time (though he had fought with



with the Beasts at *Ephesus*, as one faith of him) incline a little too much to the *Beast*. Yet he made his tale so good to the *Archbishop of Canterbury* (what reservations soever he had) that he wrought upon the good old man (afterwards) in the *Conclusion* of the work, to set his hand as a Witness to the *Articles*. And his desires were so heightened to the *Heats of Spain*, (which boyl'd him to such a *Distemper*) that he would listen to nothing, and almost yield to any thing, rather than not to enjoy his own *Humour*. Divers of his intimate *Council* affecting *Popery*, were not slack to urge him to a Toleration, and many *Arguments* were used inciting to it: As that *Catholicks* were the King's best and most peaceable *Subjects*, the *Puritans* being the only Sticklers and the greatest disturbers of the *Royal peace*, trenching too boldly upon the *Prerogative*, and striving to lessen the *Kingly power*; But if the King had occasion to make use of the *Catholicks*, he should find them more faithful to him, than those that are ever contesting with him. And why should not *Catholicks* with as much safety be permitted in *England* as the *Protestants* are in *France*? That their Religion was full of *Love* and *Charity* (where they could enjoy it with freedom) and where *Charity* layes the *Foundation*, the upper *Building* must needs be *spiritual*. But these *Arguments* were answered, and many reasons alledged against them proving the *Nature* of the *Protestant Religion* to be *Compatible* with the *Nature* of the *Politick Laws* of any State, of what *Religion* soever; because it teacheth that the Government of any State, whether *Monarchical* or *Aristocratical*, is *supream* within it self, and not *subordinate* to any power without; so that the Knot of Allegiance thereunto is so firmly tied, that no *humane power* can unloose or dissolve it. Whereas on the contrary, the *Roman Religion*, acknowledging a *Supremacy* in another, above that power which swayeth the State, whereof they are *Members*, must consequently hold, that one stroke of that *Supreme power* is able to unfinew, and cut in sunder all the *Bonds* which ty them to the *Subordinate* and *Dependent Authority*. And therefore can ill accord with the *Allegiance*, which *Subjects* owe to a *Prince* of their own *Religion*, which makes *Papists* intolerable in a *Protestant Common-wealth*. For what *Faith* can a *Prince* or *People* expect from them, whose *Tenet* is, *That no Faith is to be held with Hereticks*? That the *Protestants* in *France* had merited better there, than the *Papists* had done in *England*: the one by their *Loyalties* to their lawful King, having ransomed that Kingdom with their bloods, in the *Pangs* of her desperate *Agonies*, from the Yoak of an *Usurper* within; and the *Tyranny* of a *Forain Scepter* without; The other seeking to write their *Disloyalties* in the Heart-blood of the *Princes* and best *Subjects* of this Kingdom. That the Num-

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Arguments for  
and against a  
Toleration.

ber



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1623.

The Match  
concluded in  
England.The Preamble  
to the Articles:The Postscript  
to the Articles.

ber and *Quality* of the *Professors* of these different *Religions* in either Kingdom is to be observed. For in *France* the Number of the *Protestants* were so great, that a *Toleration* did not make them, but found them a *Considerable Party*; so strong, as they could not have been suppressed without endangering the Kingdom; But a *Toleration* in *England* would not find, but form the *Papists* to be a considerable party, (witness their encrease by this late *Connivency*) a thing which ought mainly to be avoided. For the distraction of a State into several powerfull parties, is alwaies weakning, and often proveth the utter ruine thereof.

These thing were laid open to the King, but all were waved by the *King of Spain's Offering*. His engagement to the *Pope* by oath, That he and the *Prince* his son should observe and keep the *Articles stipulated* betwixt them, did exceedingly affect him. And the *Articles* now coming to close up all, they were ingrossed, with a long preamble. Declaring to all the *World* the much desired *Union* betwixt him and the *King of Spain*, by the marriage of his son to the *Infanta Maria*, sister to the *King*. To which end he had sent his Son into *Spain* to treat and conclude the match; together with *George Duke of Buckingham*, *John Earl of Bristol*, *Sir Walter Astone*, and *Sir Francis Cottington*, Barons, Commissioners on his part for the said Treaty. And on the behalf of the *King of Spain*, *John de Mendoza* and *Luna*, Marquess of *Monstes Claros*, *Didacus Sarmiento de Acuna* Earl of *Gondemar*, and *John de Cirica*, Secretary to the *Secret Council*. Which Commissioners for both parts qualified by a *Dispensation* from his Holiness, after long and deliberate Dispute in so serious a matter, *Communi consensu atque judicio in aliquot Capitulationes & conditiones, ad rem terminandam & absolvendam accommodata, quæ sic se habent, convenerunt*; by one consent and judgment, had determined and concluded the same.

Then followed the before recited *Articles*, after which this long *Postscript* attesting them.

**T**He Treaty aforesaid, and all and singular the Capitulations in the same contained and specified, are acceptable to Us, and from Our certain Knowledge, for as much as doth concern Us, Our Heires and Successors, We do approve, allow, confirm, and ratifie, all and every of them; and We do promise by these presents, bona fide, in the Word of a King (laying aside all Exception and Contradiction) inviolably, firmly, well and faithfully, to keep, observe, and fulfill the same; and to cause them with Effect to be kept, observed, and fulfilled. And laying Our hand upon the Holy Evangelists, We do confirm the same by Oath. In the presence of the Illustrious and Noblemen, *John de Mendoza*, and *Carrolus à Colonna*, Ambassadors of



of his Majesty the Catholick King, Resident in Our Court: Notwithstanding all Opinions, Sentences, and Laws to the contrary. In Faith, and Witness that these Articles, and all and singular the premises were subscribed with Our own hand, We have caused our great Seal to be put to them, in the presence of, The most Reverend father in Christ, George Archbishop of Canterbury Primate of all England, The most reverend Father in Christ, John Bishop of Lincoln, Keeper of the great Seal of England. And our beloved Cousins, Lionel Earl of Middlesex, Lord High Treasurer of England. Henry Viscount Mandevil, President of Our Council. Edward Earle of Worcester, Keeper of Our privy Seale. Lodowick Duke of Richmond and Lenox, High Steward of Our Household. James Marquesse Hamilton, James Earle of Carlile, Thomas Earle of Kelley, Oliver Viscount Grandilon; And the Reverend father in Christ, Lancelot Bishop of Winchester, Dean of Our Royal Chappel. And Our beloved and faithful, George Baron Carew of Clopton, Master of Our great Ordnance of England. Arthur Baron Chichester, of Belfast, high Treasurer of Our Kingdom of Ireland. Thomas Edmonds Knight, Treasurer of Our Royal Household. John Sucklin Knight, Comptroller of our Household. George Calvert Knight, one of Our principal Secretaries. Edward Conwey Knight, another of Our principal Secretaries. Richard Weston Knight, Chancellour and sub-Treasurer of Our Exchequer. And Julius Cæsar Knight, Master of our Rolls. All of them of Our Privy Council. Dated at Our Palace at Westminster, the twentieth day of July, in the one and twentieth year of Our Reign.

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This Train of Witnesses are set down to shew who, were then of Our King's Council, though some of them set their hands to it much against their wills; and swore with as little zeal to observe and keep (as much as in them lay) all the aforesaid Articles. Such Power have Kings over mens Reasons and Consciences.

There was some little Contest betwixt our King and the King of Spains Ambassadors about some particular Ceremonies observed in swearing of these Articles. For our King having written, and spoken against the Popes Holiness, would not admit him to be so styled in his Oath; But the Ambassadors refused to proceed further unless that Title were consented unto; so that Our King (affecting ever to be accounted a Peacemaker) though he where Defender of the Faith, was forced to lay by his Shield, (admitting him to be holy, who was most unholy) and so the strife ended. Some other little things were stood upon by the Ambassadors, but the King's Patience surmounted all their Demands. And in the Close of the Business, he invited the Ambassadors to a Royall Feast at Whitehall; where after dinner, retiring into the Council Chamber, The

King



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An Christi.

1623.

Private Articles  
sworn to.

Jesuits swarm.

Dispute pub-  
lickly.

King took another private Oath, to observe certain *Articles* in favour of *Roman Catholicks*, for a free exercise of their *Religion* in all his *Dominions*; Wherein he protested to do what in him lay, that the Parliament should confirm the same. And thus was the great Business accomplished, which gave Our King so much content, that (being transported with an assurance of the *Match*) he was heard to say, *Now all the Devils in Hell cannot hinder it*; So secure was he of it in his own Opinion! But one that heard him, said to others standing by, *That there was never a Devil now left in Hell, for they were now all gone into Spain to make up the Match.*

This forwardness of the Union with *Spain*, and indulgence to *Papists*, made *Jesuits* and *Priests* swarm in every corner, setting up their subtle *Traps* to catch wavering *Spirits*. And they could not hear of a man of estate that was sick (for persons of *Quality* were only aimed at) but they would tamper with his weak *conscience*, and persuade him to the *Charity* of their *Religion*, whereby his *Soul* (that was tainted with earthly *corruptions*, and must needs be purged by *Fire*, before it can come to God, should escape the pains of *Purgatory*; or if it went thither, their Prayers could redeem them thence; with such stuff as this deceiving many poor *Soules*. But their most specious juggling *Argument* (which did catch many ignorant persons) was the *Visibility* of their Church in all *Ages* (as they pretended) and their great *Question*, Where the *Protestant Church* was before *Luther*? Among the rest, one *Edward Buggs Esquire*, living in *London*, aged seventy years, and an old professed *Protestant*, was seduced by them in his *Sickness*, and after his recovery, being troubled in mind, at his request and desire there was a publick conference and dispute appointed at Sir *Humphrey Lind's* house, *Lind* being a friend to *Buggs*, and a Gentleman of great knowledge, and integrity, who was able to grapple with the *Jesuits* himself, yet he modestly desired Doctor *White*, and Doctor *Featly*, *Protestants*, to encounter with Father *Fisher* and Father *Sweet*, *Jesuits*. Where *Featly* laid their juggling tricks at their Doores, protesting to acknowledge himself overcome by them, if they could prove out of any good Author (let them brag what they would of the *Visibility* of their Church in all ages) that in *City*, *Parish*, or *Hamlet*, within five hundred years next after *Christ*, there was any visible assembly of *Christians* to to be named, maintaining, or defending, either the Council of *Trent* in general, or these *Points* of *Popery* in *special*.

1. That there is a *Treasury* of *Saints Merits*, and *superabundant* *Satisfactions*, at the *Pope's* disposing.

2. That the *Laity* are not commanded by *Christ's Institution* to receive the *Sacrament* of the *Lord's Supper* in both kinds.

3. That



3. That the *Publick Service* of God in the *Church*, ought, or may be celebrated in an unknown tongue.

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4. That *Private Masses* (wherein the *Priest* saith, *Edite & bibite ex hoc omnes*, and yet eateth and drinketh himself only) are according to *Christ's* institution.

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5. That the *Pope's Pardons* are requisite or useful, to release *Souls* out of *Purgatory*.

6. That the effect of the *Sacrament* dependeth upon the Intention of the *Minister*.

Here Mr. *Sweet* interrupted him, saying, These were *Scholastical Points*, not *Fundamental*.

To which Doctor *White* replied, Those things which are defined in your Council of *Trent*, are to you matters *Fundamental*. And whatsoever *Article* denied, makes a *Man* an *Heretick*, is *Fundamental*.

But the denial of any of these, make a *Man* an *Heretick*.

*Ergo*, Every one of these *Articles* is *Fundamental*.

To which *Argument*, nothing being answered, Doctor *Featly* proceeded.

7. That extream *Unction* is a *Sacrament* properly so called.

8. That we may worship God by an *Image*.

9. That the *Sacred Host* ought to be elevated, or carried in solemn *Procession*.

10. That *Infidels*, and impious persons, yea *Rats* and *Mice*, may eat the *Body of Christ*.

11. That all *Ecclesiastical Power* dependeth on the *Pope*.

12. That he cannot err in matters of *Faith*.

13. That he hath *Power* to *Canonize Saints*, to dispose of *Kings* and *Kingdoms* at his pleasure, &c.

But the *Jesuits* not being able to prove that any of these things were in practice in the *Primitive Times of Christianity* (but that they were fobb'd in by several *Popes* and *Councils*, in latter times, to serve their own turns) waved the *Argument*, and insisted upon other *particulars*, not material to the *Point*; striving to confound one thing with another (as their manner is) that they might *complicate*, and wrap up in *obscurity*, all that was spoken: Which Mr. *Buggs* perceiving, rested fully satisfied and confirmed in the *Truth*.

But thus the *Jesuits* ranged up and down seeking whom they might devour; and their insolency being greater, and more notorious at this time, than at others, the mischief that fell to them in this height of their *pride* and *greatness*, is very remarkable: For at a *Sermon* in *Black-Friers*, where Father *Drurie*, a *Jesuit*, vented his pestilent *Doctrine* to an *Auditory* of near three hundred people, the *Floor* of the *Chamber* (being an upper room) fell down, and killed the *Preacher*, and almost (if not) a full hundred of his *Auditory* outright, maiming and bruising

A great judgment, or an unfortunate mishap.



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Brunswick raises an Army.

His Chief Officers.

most of the rest, many of them lying a long time under the *Rub. bish*, crying for help, and with much difficulty recovered their broken Limbs. Thus many times we might immediately see the hand of God (who is the Lord of *Life* and *Death*) though through wilful *stupidity* (because we must judge *modestly*) we look upon these *accidents* by *mediate* and *second* causes, thinking an old house can destroy so many lives, without the permission of that supreme Authority that orders all things both in Heaven, and in Earth.

The Duke of Brunswick this Spring (being healed of his wounds received in the last *Battle* with *Mansfeldt*, and having gotten an *artificial Arm* to manage his *Horse*, which he could do with a great deal of dexterity) what by his own interest and power, and the assistance of his friends (being but a younger Brother, and having nothing but the *Bishoprick* of *Haverstat* for his portion) he raised a great *Army* in the lower parts of *Germany*, about *Brunswick* and *Munster*, consisting of about sixteen thousand foot, and five thousand horse, every way compleatly armed, and accomplished with a gallant Train of *Artillery*: The *Horses*, *Wagons*, and *Carriages*, in such trim and suitable *Equipage*, as shewed by their suitableness in *furniture*, they had not been patched up, nor hastily hurried together. His *Design* (being invited thereto) was to joyn with the *Prince* of *Orange*, to be revenged of the *Spaniard* for the loss of his *Arm* the last year: but the chief *motive* (as he alwaies pretended) was his respects to the *Queen* of *Bohemia*, who in those dayes (whether out of pity for her suffering so much, or out of fear that Religion would yet suffer much more) carried a great stream of affection towards her.

The Commanders in chief of this Army under the Duke of Brunswick, were Duke William of Wimar, Marshal General of the Field; Count *Stirum*, General of the Horse; Count *Isenburg*, General of the Ordnance; and *Kniphuisen*, Sergeant Major General; men acquainted with War, and Danger. But whether the Divine Fate had laid a mouldring hand upon this gallant Army, or whether the *Enemy* with a full hand had charmed some of these great *Officers* (as by the carriage of the business may be suspected) to be of his party, was not discovered; but the ruin of it was as strange for the manner, as unknown for the means: For after Brunswick had taken a resolution at *Kettington* in *Brunswick-land*, to joyn with the *Prince* of *Orange*, he declined all occasions of encountering with *Tillie* the *Imperial General*, who was with an Army at a good distance, attending Brunswick's motion, not knowing (as may be conjectured) whether he would bend his course into the *Palatinate*, or into the *Low-Countries*; so that upon Brunswick's march he left him in his *Reer*. And left *Tillie* should follow him too close, and interrupt him



him in his *March*, he divided his *Army* into three *Brigades*: The *Van-guard* was commanded by *Duke William*, in which was three *Regiments*, his own, *Colonel Mayers*, and *Colonel Frenkes*. *Kniphuisen* the *Serjeant Major General* had the ordering of the *Batail*, the *Collonels* under him were *Guertsken*, and *Spar*. And the *Count de la Tour* brought up the *Rear*, with *Duke Bernard* of *Wimar's Regiment*, the *Rhinegrafs*, and *Colonel Spees*: with *Direction* that these three *Bodies* should keep equal distance and and observe this *Order*.

That having in their *March* the *Enemie* at their backs, if the *Rear-guard* made a *Halt*, the *Battail* should do the same, and consequently the *Van guard* (according to the best *Discipline*) attending with firm foot, the cause of the *Halt*, that they may be ready to put themselves in order for service, if occasion were presented: The *Army* thus coming to pass any *Passage*, while the *Van-guard* did advance: the *Battail* and *Rear-guard* should make a stand, with the front towards the *Enemy*. The *Van-guard* being past, should face the *Passage*, and stay for the *Battail*, which being past also should do the same for the *Rear-guard*, that they might be ready upon the approach of an *Enemy* to assist one another. With this *Order* and *Direction*, they began to march into *Westfalia*, *Brunswick* trusting to *Stirem*, *Kniphuisen*, and *Frenck*; who being *Natives* of the Country, gave him assurance of the safe *Conduct* of his *Army*, by wayes short and commodious. And he commanded, especially the *General* of the *Horse*, to send out parties of *Horse* every way, that he might have intelligence of the *Enemie's Motions*; who gave him assurance that the *Enemies Army* was not within thirty *English Miles*, when by other hand at the same time, he had certain notice, that the *Enemy* was within three *English Miles* with his whole *Power*. This miscarriage made *Brunswick* hast away to *Newburgh*, the next Town, where resting a little he took a *Resolution* to march all night, to recover time, and ground again; that *Stirum's* negligence had made him lazily lose. And to that end he commanded *Kniphuisen*, and *Count Isenburg*, to make the *Baggage* march at eleven a clock at *Night*, the *Cannon*, at *Midnight*, and the *Army* two hours after; But *Brunswick* getting up at three a clock in the *Morning*, hoping to find his *Commands* obeyed, and the *Army* in a good forwardness of advance, found nothing done, and these great *Officers* in their Beds. This disobedience of his *Officers* troubled *Brunswick* much, but he was constrained to *Diligence*, as well as *Patience*; And hastning them away, they pretended forwardness, but made it eight of the Clock in the morning, before the *Rear-guard* stirred out of their *Quarters*.

From *Newburgh* to *Statloo Bridge* (a place of *Security*) was but fourteen *English Miles*, and there were in that way seven passages

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An. Christi.

1623.

Thier Order  
in Marching.

The General  
of the Horse  
falters.



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passages or *Straits*, where a few men might oppose an *Army*. The *Baggage*, *Cannon*, and *Munition*, (except six pieces with *Munition*, that marched with the *Rere-guard*) had past them all, and the *Foot* three of them without disturbance, but *Count Stirum* with the *Horse* loitered still behind at *Newburgh*, which caused *Brunswick* to make the whole *Army* face about and stay for the *Horse*; sending a strict Command to *Stirum* with all speed to come up and joyn with the *Foot*, and not to skirmish with the *Enemy* at any rate. But he stayed so long that the *Enemy* began to charge him in the *Rere*, before he advanced to the third *Passage*. So that he sent to *Brunswick* for five hundred *Musqueteers* to amuse the *Enemy* till he had passed the third *Passage* with his *Horse*. The *Duke* sent these *Musqueteers* according to *Stirum's* desire, and advancing his *Army* forward, he passed the fourth *Passage*, and there made the *Rere* of his foot face about, the better to favour and receive his *Horse*. Which having done, he speeds back towards *Stirum* to see how the business went with him, and incountring *Kniphuisen*, he asked him what the *Enemy* had done? Who answered, Nothing, all is well. But *Brunswick* going forward, found the contrary, for the *Enemy* had made a great slaughter, laying almost a thousand *Horse* upon the Ground.

This perplexed *Brunswick* exceedingly, so that with some *Passion*, he sent a Command to *Stirum* to advance his *Horse* towards the Body of the *Army*, who had stayed three hours for them at the fourth *Passage*, whither the *Duke* returned to secure the same, planting two Pieces of Demi-cannon at the Mouth of the *Passage*, and leaving two thousand *Musqueteers* to guard it, for the assistance of the *Horse*, if the *Enemy* should come to charge them at the Entrance; and so he marched forward with the rest of the *Army*. But *Stirum* drew the *Horse* into a body under the side of a Wood, which was in the middle of a spacious plain, betwixt the two *Passages*, and that brought the *Enemy* to a stand: for they suspected the whole *Army* stood in *Battalia* behind that Wood, and therefore did not advance, which shewed, they watched only for advantages. And *Stirum* seeing the *Enemy* at a stand, drew his *Horse* towards the fourth *Passage*, which the *Enemy* observing made all the haste after that could be, to pelt them in the *Rere*, but the *Horse* passed the fourth *Passage* before the *Enemy* came up.

So doth the  
Sergeant Ma-  
jor General.

Then *Brunswick* drew off his Cannon, and marched away to the fifth *Passage*, leaving *Kniphuisen* (who undertook it voluntarily) with two thousand *Musqueteers*, to make good that *Passage*, which was of that advantage, that half the men might have done it, and two *Regiments* of *Horse* were left to give assistance to the *Foot*, to bring them off when they should retire, and joyn with the *Army*. But the *Van-guard* of *Brunswick's* *Army* had



had scarce entred the fifth *Passage*, but he discovered some *Musqueteers* running towards a Wood, that was on this side, and not far from the fourth *Passage*, and riding back to see whether all stood firm, he met *Kniphuisen*, and askt him if the *Passage* was made good? Who answered, *Take you no care, trust me.* But presently discovering some of the *Officers* that had command of the *Musqueteers* running towards the *Army*, he took a more lively apprehension that the *Passage* was lost, and meeting *Kniphuisen*, with some heat, told him he had betrayed him; But *Kniphuisen* excused himself that he could not keep it against an *Army*, and complained that the *Horse* had abandoned him. But said he, the next *Passage* is of as great importance as the last, and I will undertake to keep that upon forfeiture of my Head, to redeem my *Credit* again, and to that end he desired an entire *Regiment* of *Foot*, which the *Duke* granted him, but assured him he should answer it if any ill succeeded by his default.

Whilest the *Army* was passing the fifth *Passage*, the *Duke* sent to know whether the *Horse* placed according to his *Direction* in the *Rere*, made good their *Station*, and he had intimation, that the *Horse* were retired close to a Wood, and by that means discovered the *Foot* to the *Enemy*. And the *Army* was no sooner passed the fifth *Passage*, but *Kniphuisen* quitted it to the *Enemy*, without so much as a *Musquet* shot from them. And the more to weaken his force (before he quitted the *Passage*) he comes to the *Duke*, and tells him (but it was not true) that the *Enemy* with thirty *Cornets* of *Horse* struck towards the left hand, to cut away to the *Baggage*, to possess that; And *Brunswick* looking about, perceived within a little Wood not far off a Body of *Horse*, which proved to be the *Prince* of *Ouldenburgh*, who was Colonel of a *Regiment* of a thousand *Horse*, whom he sent to resist the *Enemy*, if they should attempt upon the *Baggage*. And advancing his *Army* to the sixth *Passage*, he passed that also before the *Enemy* came to it; but here was *Brunswick's Error* in trusting *Kniphuisen* the third time, which was only as he said to redeem his former faults; for he gave the keeping of this sixth *Passage* to him also, which he delivered to the *Enemy*, at their first approach as he did the others; And drawing the *Rere-guard* out of the way on the right hand, (contrary to *Brunswick's* commands) and the *General* of the *Ordnance* striking out on the left hand, with his Body and Cannon; and *Stirum* sheltring himself in the Woods with his *Horse*; The *Enemy* advanced freely, (seeing them thus scattered) and charged on all sides with his whole Power. But little resistance being made (the *General Officers* leaving the Field) every one shifted for himself: Some escaped over *Statloo Bridge*, many were drowned in the River, the slaughter, and ruin was great

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*Brunswick's*  
Army defeated.



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great, so was the *Confusion* and fear. Sir *Charles Rich* being with *Brunswick* in this disorderly business, escaped a great danger, for in their flight, his Horse fell into a Bogg, where *Brunswick* and the rest left him sticking; But being a *Spritely Horse*, (that his Brother the Earl of *Warwick* had given him) with much labour he plunged himself out, and saved both himself, and his Rider.

The Reliques of this broken Army that scaped, the Author saw at *Eltem* on the *Hill*, in *Cleveland*, and this *Relation* was made by the Duke of *Brunswick* to *Maurice Prince of Orange* for his own Vindication. And from a *French Copy* that the Duke gave to the Earl of *Essex*, he translated it then into *English* that some of our Nation there might partake of the true knowledge of his *Misfortunes*. And the Duke cited his chief Officers to appear before *Prince Maurice*, where he laid this Accusation to their charge; but either the Duke had no power over them (being in a strange Country) or no proof against them for this strange *Miscarriage* (being accounted among them *La Fortune de la Guerre*, but Chance of War) for they all escaped without Punishment.

And some years after *Kniphuysen* was thought fit in the Duke of *Buckingham's* Voyage to the *Ile of Ree*, to be a field-Officer in the *English Army*, which almost (if not altogether) thriv'd as ill; So uncertain is the true *State* of intricate Transactions! for that which is obvious and visible may be believed an *Error*, but secret mischiefs are left to his *Discovery*, who only knows the heart.

The condition  
of France.

*France* about this time had her wounds bound up, and stancht the bloody Issue, by the Pacification of *Montpelier*, but it broke out again at *Rochel*, where some *English Ships* did the King of *France* service, pressed thereto by the Duke of *Guise*, Admiral of *France*, and though it carried a bad favour then, that they should fight against the *Protestants*, being forced thereto, yet it was not so enormous, and dangerous to them, as when the Duke of *Buckingham* afterwards, did force the *Van-guard*, a prime Ship of Our King's, and six other gallant Ships, out of the *English* hands, and put them into *French* fingering, that they might do the mischief with them. Which Act was laid upon the Duke's Account, among other hainous Crimes by him committed, and he had dearly payed for it, if the Prince his Fellow-Traveller (in the first year of whose *Reign* it was done) had not acquitted him.

But in their intimate and secret Counsels in *France* it was debated, whether it were not better to pull such a Goad of *Hereticks* (as they called the *Protestants*) out of the side of the Kingdom, that stuck there, to their continual *Vexation* and trouble, rather than have their pain perpetually renewed, being impos-



impossible to heal the *Sore*, but by such an extirpation ; so much rancour, and inveterate *Malice* sprung up in the Popish Party against them of the *Religion*, that the Animosity of it extended to little less than another *Massacre*. And though Our King (who may be said to love them) gave them no countenance (whatsoever his Promises were) otherwise than by intreating for them (being a tickle and tender point (as he thought) to partake with *Subjects* against their *Prince*) yet God sent them *Deliverance* (such are the Dispensations of his Providence) by one that hated their *Religion*, as much, if not more, than the *French*.

For the King of *Spain* (doubling his *Ambition*) possessed himself about this time of some parts of the *Valtolin*, thinking to bound *France* towards *Italie* (the *Alpes* being not so high as his thoughts) as the *Pyrenes* had bounded it towards *Spain* ; And the *French* Activity being loath to be cooped up, thought it better to endure a little inconvenience at home, than so much prejudice abroad, and therefore to oppose *Him*, they closed with the *Protestants*. And what was it brought them in *Obedience* ? The re-edifying of their ruined *Temples*, the restoring and maintaining their banished *Ministers*, and *Security* in their *Religion* and *Consciences*. So that it was not their *Rebellion* that was cause of the War, but the War made against their *Religion*, caused it to be called a *Rebellion*. Thus when all other means failed, their worst enemies (though much against their wills) proved to be their best Friends.

But to return to the *Spanish Treaty* all this while in *Agitation*. As soon as the *Articles* Our King had sealed, and sworn to observe, were come into *Spain*, and the *Prince* had ratified, and confirmed them, and had sworn to another *Article* there, wherein he ties up his own hands, and gave leave to *Satan*, and all his complices to buffet him (which was, To permit at all times, that any should freely propose to him, the Arguments of the Catholick Religion, without giving any impediment ; and that he would never directly, nor indirectly permit any to speak to the *Infanta* against the same) the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Spain* (as it were) shook hands to the *Agreement*. Preparations were made in *England* to entertain the *Infanta*, a new Church built up at *Saint James* the *Prince's* house, the Foundation stone (with much *Ceremony*) laid by *Don Carlos a Coloma* the *Spanish* Ambassadour, for the publick exercise of her *Religion* ; Her very Shadows are courted in every Corner, *Painters* being set a work to take the Height and *Dimensions* of this new *Star* that was to rise in the *North*, before it appeared. Such as hoped to flourish by her influence, grew up to exuberancy ; what would they do then when they found the effects of it ? Why ? be drowned in their own redundancy : For the *Mode-*  
rate

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An. Christi.

1623.

The Match  
concluded in  
*Spain*.



An. Reg. 20.

An. Christi.

1623.

The Palatine  
affairs waved.New Resolu-  
tions on both  
sides.

rate Spirit did foresee what bad Omens this Apparition did threaten. On the other side, in Spain the Substance is as much courted as the Shadow is here, with the Title of Princess of England, her Maiden Restraints are taken off, and she may come abroad to publick Meetings, where now their Eyes may prattle loving Stories; though the great Courtier Olivares, gave it no better Title, than, *The Princewatches the Infanta as a Cat doth a Mouse*; too gross an Expression for a Master of those Ceremonies. And in fine there was such an Union betwixt the two Crowns, that it might well be said Philip and Jacob made one Holy-day.

But this closing betwixt England and Spain, made the breach the wider in the House of the Palatine; the Restitution of the Palatinate, and the Electorate, to the Queen of Bohemia, and her Children, being waved in the Treaty; and a great sum of Money proposed as a Dowry, which was also lessen'd after the first Proposition, and some part of it promised to be sent with Her in Jewels (which as one said might be Counterfeit as the rest of their Actions) yet Our King accepted of all, so eager was He and greedy of the Match, that no Obstacle could stand in his way, which he did not remove. But there was some under-hand promise; that the Infanta among the Courte-Complements, should work that feat, in presenting the Restorative of that Dignity, and Country, for a break-fast, to ingratiate her Self with the Prince her Husband, and as a pawn of her good Will and Affection to the English Nation: And these Promises with the Spanish stamp, were taken in England for current Payment, so that all things tended to a Conclusion.

But time in Spain came too swift upon them, they were willing the Infanta should winter there, but knew not well how to delay the Prince longer. And as they were in this plunge, ruminating upon, and striving to find out some new Remora; to help them, Pope Gregory the fifteenth (that had granted the Dispensation) dies; and then their Subtilties flew upon that accident to make the Dispensation invalid; yet with a Reserve to keep up our Prince's Spirit that it should be no hinderance to the Match; for the new Pope would instantly do it; if not, it should be dispatched by the Dean of the Cardinals; and the King of Spain assured the Prince, That if he would stay till Christmas the Marriage should be really celebrated then. These delays coming one on the neck of another, and the Duke of Buckingham having taken some disgust in Spain, presented all things to our King in the worst habit he could put upon them; For there had been some jars betwixt him, and Olivares. Two great Favourites though of different Kingdoms, could not well squat in one form. Olivares hunted Buckingham so close that he had almost caught him in his own Burrow, but instead of his

Game



Game he incountered some *Vermin* ( which darknes could not distinguish, ) who bit him shreudly; and whether it were by this *Common Hunt* I know not, but I am sure it was by the *Common-Cry*, that he was so displeased with the *Spanish* for it, that he afterwards much inclined to the *French*. I acknowledge the *Geavity*, and *Dignity* of *History*, should not appear in such *Metaphorical* Habiliments, but that we now live in an *Age* where *Truth* is forced to shroud her self in such *Attire*, lest she should have imprinted on her face a Mark of Malice against *Greatness*; which if it be not ballanced with Goodness and Piety, is but an empty and frothy Title.

But it was said this Tetrical Humour made *Buckingham* dislike all the *Spanish* proceedings, and just in the nick when it was on him, the *Queen of Bohemia*, by a private message, gave him some intimation, that *She* and her *Children* were to be thought on, inviting him to be a Witnesse to the *Christning* of one of them, which came fit to his acceptation, not so much out of affection to the one Party, as in opposition to the other. And what disrelished with him, gave an ill *Savour* to Our King, who having cause enough to dislike the *Spanish* *delaits*, and finding the *Hearts* of the People bent against the *Match*, and some neer him, as the *Duke of Lenox*, made *Duke of Richmond* when *Buckingham* had his Title, that the *Scots* might still precede the *English*; and the *Marquess Hamilton* made *Earl of Cambridge* to intitle him a Peer the last Parliament, a man of a gallant, and stately presence, on whom the King much listened to, and others having as little affection to it; The hopes of a Daughter of *France* left to give life yet to a *Royal Race*, did bate something of Our King's keen edge; so that he wrote to *Buckingham*, That he could not expect after so long a stay in Spain, and so little done, that they had any cordial intention to perfect the *Treaty*, and therefore conjured him to bring his Son back with all speed: but if his Sonnes youthful follies should tye him to a long expectation, he chargeth him by his allegiance to come away and leave him there. This letter the *Duke* shewed to the Prince, and it wrought so upon him, that he took a suddain resolution to go home.

The *Grandeets* of *Spain* having notice thereof were much troubled, for their *Design* was to detain the Prince there all Winter, not only hoping thereby to turn him to their *Religion*, but to marry him to the *Infanta*, that there might have been a Co-union between them, that she being with Child before the *Spring*, they might keep her there till she were delivered, that so, the Child might be bred up and naturalized a *Spaniard*, both in affection and *Religion*, which this suddain Resolution hindring, it somewhat startled them. *Olivares* told *Buckingham*, that he had promised the Prince should admit of *Communion* with some *Jesuits* of theirs in Matters of *Religion*.

K k

And

An. Reg. 20.

An. Christi.

1623.

*Buckingham*  
angry.

The Duke and  
*Olivares* quar-  
rel.



An. Reg. 20.

An. Christi.

1623.



And the Duke answered, there had been some already with him, but the Prince (he said) was so well settled in Religion, that he was not to be further altered. *Olivares* replied, You gave me some assurance and hope of the Prince's turning Catholick. The Duke told him, it was false. The Conde in a great rage broke from him, with so much impatience, that he was scarce able to contain himself, went to the Prince, and told him how unworthily *Buckingham* had served him; And after his complaints to him he found out the *Baron Kensington*, whom he looked on with an eye of good respect, his Civilities and Carriage obliging every where, venting his passion to him; telling him that *Buckingham* had given him the Ly, and that there was nothing a man of Honour could be more sensible of. That it bred a great distraction in him, betwixt his affection to his Master's Honour, and his own: For if any evil did redound to *Buckingham* by his hand, (being a Person so near the Prince who had honoured the Court of *Spain* with his presence, and run through great and dangerous hazards, out of affection to his Master's Sister, upon whose actions now all the Christian World are gazing) it would reflect upon the Honour of his Master, and when his own Honour comes in competition with his Master's, the least must give way to the greatest; therefore he desired the Lord of *Kensington* to tell the Duke, That he had so much of a Gentleman, as to be sensible of the injury, and so much Power and Courage as to revenge himself, but rather than his Master's Honour should suffer, he would be the sufferer. The Duke sent the Conde word again by the said Lord, That he laid a thing to his charge that would not admit of a less sharp answer, for when his Honour comes in competition with the Conde's he had rather that should suffer than his own. His Passion was quick but not durable, hot but not revengful; And he held so high an esteem of the Conde, that he was more wilking to venture upon his Sword than his Malice.

*Buckingham*  
goes to the  
Ships.

This business being waved by the Conde's discretion, and they seeing the Prince's intention bent homeward, made preparation of Carriages to the Sea-side. The Duke of *Buckingham's* departure was suddain, giving them no time to prepare for him, pretending a great Charge to look after the Port of *St. Andero* in *Biscaye*, where the Royal Navy of England, under the Command of his Father-in-Law the Earl of *Rutland*, attended his Directions, that all things might be accommodated for his young Master: not caring a Fig for the Ceremony of a Spanish farewell, which happily he might fear, and therefore strive to avoid, and which their gravities, as they do all other things, draw out at full length. But because they should not think he ran away, he gave them a short signal of his Departure, and left the Prince to manage his own business. And that the Prince's change



change of *Soil*, and *Ayr*, the great *Volatile* of *Fancy*, might produce no change in his *Affection*; the King of *Spain* and *He*, both took solemn Oaths to accomplish the Marriage; and to make the *Espousals* ten daies, after the *Dispensation* from the new Pope should arrive. And a *Procuracion* was sealed by the Prince, to the King of *Spain*, and *Don Carlos* his Brother, and left in the Earl of *Bristol*'s hand to perfect the *Work*.

Among the *Specious Ceremonies* indented betwixt these two great Princes, the richness of the Gifts, and Presents, that past among them, were highly remarkable. The King of *Spain* presented the Prince, and all his Noble Train, and the Prince filled the Court of *Spain*, as it were, with *Jewels*; no Person of *Quality* or *Merit*, but his name was recorded in the *Inventory* of the *Princes Bounty*, as if *England* had disfurnished, and made bare her own Neck, to adorn the Breasts of *Spain*. The Prince presenting his *Mistress* with such a *Neck-lace* of *Pearl*, that all *Spain* could not Parallel: *Pearls* that had been long pluckt from their Watry Beds, and had left few fellows there. For the *Eastern* and *Western* Divers throughout the *Catholic Empire*, could never yet find the like. But these upon the breach were returned again; though it be now indifferent whether the *French* or the *Spanish* have them. The Duke of *Buckingham* was not close handed in distributing his *Jewels* to the *Beauties* of *Spain*; though his farewel was private, his *Bounty* was public, More suitable to his *Masters Honor*, than his *Own*; which the Lord *Treasurer Middlesex* found, and repined at.

The Prince took leave of the *Queen* of *Spain* and the *Infanta*, prepared for it, in their greatest Magnificence, attended with all their train of *Grandeess* and *Ladies*. The *Queen* spoke her own *Adieu* in *French*, which the Prince returned in the same *Language*. But the Earl of *Bristol* was the *Medium* betwixt the Prince and his *Mistress*, who if he may be believed, set her Heart to make Her self *Grateful*, and therefore this parting could not be acceptable to her; one of her *Arguments* being, *If the Prince loved me, he would stay for me*; but now the Time of parting approaching, those *Arguments* were laid aside, and the *Superficial Ornaments* of public interview, like a Cloud, interposed it self betwixt them, so that what was darkly lodged in their thoughts, could only find light by the *Eyes*. Their Tongues (the *Common Orator*) could tell what was fit to say, when there were so many by to hear, and if the *Eyes* had learn'd the *Language* of the *Heart*, they quickly forgot it, because they never met again to practise it.

The King of *Spain* brought our Prince to the *Escorial* (which was part of his way to the Sea side) a house of that *Superbous*, and elegant *Structure*, that I cannot pass by it without vailing to it, and spending some time in the survey of it. The *Spaniard*

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An. Christi.

1623.

Gifts and presents on both sides.

The Prince leaves Madrid.

Comes to the Escorial.



An. Reg. 20.

An. Christi.

1623.

The Description of it.

niard proudly boast it to be the eighth Wonder of the *World*; It was built by *Philip* the second upon a *Spiritual Foundation*, which heightened into Superstition, produces the most *stupendous* effects. *Philip* at the Siege of Saint *Quintin*, was persuaded by his Officers, experimented in War, that if ever he would take the Town, he must batter down a *Monastery* of *Friers* (dedicated to Saint *Lawrence*) that stood in his way; which he was with much difficulty wrought to, but that Act (though it effected the Work) dinted such an impresson upon his *Conscience* that he vowed to make the *Martyr* a full and ample *Reparation*. Some say it was for the *Battail* he gained against the *French* neer St. *Quintin*, when they came to relieve it, upon that *Saints* day; but whether either or both (for they were both accomplished) he built this *Mighty Fabrick*, in form of a *Gridiron* (the *Emblem* and *Instrument* of his *Martyrdom*) the *Handle* whereof, is the *Kings Palace*, of a vast *Capacity*, and the *Square* of the *Gridiron*, is divided into twelve spacious *Quadrangles*: in which are arched *Cloisters*, one above, the other below; all dedicated to *Religious Orders*, endowed with a *Revenue* enough to make the best *Piety* Proud, every *Frier* in the *Monastery* having his *Man*, and his *Mule*, so that they live there more like *Princes* than *Priests*. And in the middle of the *Square*, stands a *Magnificent Cathedral Church*, under the high *Altar* whereof there is a *Vault*. or rather *Stately Chappel*, of most excellent *Polished Marble*, built round like an *Old Roman Pantheon* (which because it resembled *Heaven*, the *Romans* placed there the images of their *Gods*) and this the *Founder* made the *Burial-place* for the *Kings* of *Spain*; establishing this *Order* (which is precisely observed) that no *Queen* shall be buried there that is not *Mother* to a *Prince*; nor none of the *King's Children* but the first born *Son*. And round about this *Round*, in the *Marble Wall*, placed in *Stately Order*, are many excellently contrived *Arches*, of wrought and *Burnish'd Marble*, and in every *Arch* a beautiful and curious *Coffin* (either of *black Marble* or *Jet*,) of whole stone, covered with the same, which are to put the embalm'd *Bodies* in. So that lying there, they seem as if they were *enthroned*, the *Beauty* of the *Place* is so resplendent about them; the *Richness* of the *Silver lamps*, and *Candle-sticks* blazing with *Tapers*, adds to the shining *Brightness* of the *Marble*, and gives a glorious *Lustre*. To speak of the *Riches* of their golden *Crosses*, and *Chalices*; the *Wonders* of their *Giant-like Statues*, and the pleasure of ther *Grottoes*, *Gardens*, *Walks*, *Fountains*, and *Aqueducts*, would take up more time, than is fit to allow them here. In fine, it is so transcendently full of admiration, that it is to be feared they that injoy the pleasures thereof (saving their *Merits*) will look for no other



other *Heaven*: For certainly *Purgatory* (though it be the *Pope's Kitchen Garden*) hath no such Walks in it, no more had old *Elizium*, and therefore this cannot be the way to *Heaven* unless it be through *Mahomet's Paradise*.

Here the Prince being feasted sealed the *Proxie*, and swore to perform the *Marriage* as aforesaid; And the day of *Departure* being come, there was a Stag lodged in the way, whose *Chace* gave the *King*, and *Prince* some *Recreation*. The *Prince* was attended by the Lord *Kensington*, and the Earl of *Bristol*, who was the *Prince's* Interpreter; the King of *Spain*, (by intention) only with *Olivares*, and the Marquess *D'avila*: *Olivares* was grand Master of the Horse to the King of *Spain*, and nearest Attendant to his *Person*, but to shew the *Spanish Civility*, he always waited on the *Prince*, and the Marquess *D'avila* his brother-in-Law attended on the King of *Spain*. After the *Ceremonies* of the *Staggs* death were performed, the King and *Prince* with their *Train* declining into a little Wood adjoining found a Table spread with *Variety* of *Meats*, and excellent *Wines*, provided for them, which entertained them, as well with wonder how it came there, as with *Refreshment*, after the *Serenity* of the *Air*, and their exercise, had quickened their appetites: concluding *Merrily*, as if the *Stagg* had been in the *Plot*, and had yielded himself to *Death* purposely there, because the *Prince's* necessary accommodations were so neer. After the *Repast* the parting Minute approaching, to perfect all, they gave leave to the exercise of *Complements*. The King expressing extraordinary *Respects* to the *Prince*, setting a high valuation upon his *Merit*, telling him, *Nothing in the World could more oblige him, than the confidence he had of him, to put himself into his hands, being unusual with Princes: But he that valued his Honor above all earthly things, was the more endeared to him, in that he gave him, by this access, an opportunity to express it: and protested, That he earnestly desired a neerer conjunction of Brotherly affection with him, for the more intire Unity betwixt them.* The *Prince* repaying his *Noble* expressions with the like *Civilities*, lets him know, how *Sensible* he was of those high *Favours* he had found during his abode in his Court and presence; which had set such an estimation upon his worth, that he knew not how to value it, but he would leave a *Mediatris*, that should make good his defects, if he would do him the honour, and make him so happy, as to preserve him in the good opinion of her, his most fair, his most dear *Mistris*. And so imbracing each other they parted.

This kind Farewell was upon the twelvth of *September*; the King leaving the *Prince* to be attended to the Sea-side, by a numerous train of *Spanish* Courtiers, whereof the Principal were *Cardinal Zapata*, the Marquess *Aytone*, the Earl of *Gondemar*, the Earl of *Monterie*, the Earl of *Baraias*, who was

Steward

An. Reg. 20.

An. Christi.

1623.

The Prince  
feasted there.

The King's &  
Prince's com-  
pliments  
parting.



An. Reg. 20.

An. Christi.

1623.

The Prince in  
danger by a  
Tempest.

A demur upon  
the espousals.

Steward of the King's household, but now the *Manager* of the *Prince's Domestical Affairs*. These *Grandeers*, and others, had at Saint *Andero* a fair opportunity to see some of the *Navy Royal of England*, and were feasted aboard the *Prince's Ship*: But at their return towards the shore, the *Prince* being with them in the *Barge*, a *Tempest* overtook them with that *Fury*, that they could neither fetch the Land, nor make to the Ships again, and night and darkness joining with the *Storm*, the *Rowers* fainting with labour, because they thought themselves at the end of their Work, their horror and fear, almost heightned to *Despair*; In this Calamity yeilding themselves to the Mercy of the *Seas*, they spied a light from a *Ship*, neer which the wind had driven them, that gave new life to *Hope*, and plucking up their Spirits to fetch that *Ship*, with the danger of being broken to peeces by the *Ships* side, at last they got aboard. This cooled the heat of their *Ceremonies* so much, so that when the *Tempest* was over, they parted. And the *Prince* arrived safely at *Portsmouth*, upon the fifth of *October* following, and the next day at *London*, where the *Peoples* joy, elevated above *Bonfire-expressions*, might teach misguided *Princes*, that *LOVE* is the firmest foundation of security, and *Happiness*.

When the *Prince*, and *Buckingham*, met at Saint *Andero*, the *Spanisb* entertainments did not take them off from minding their *Business*: The *Duke* had time in his *Recess* to mature his *Conceptions*; And whether his adverseness to the *Spanisb* in affection wrought upon the *Prince*, or whether the *Prince's* affection, that was wrought upon in the *Spanisb Court*, lost the *Vigor*, and *Virtue*, by losing the *Object*, or whether the united *Operations* of both, cannot be determined: But one *Clark* a Creature of the *Dukes*, was posted back to *Madrid* to the Earl of *Bristol*, to command him not to deliver the *Procuracion* for the *Espousals* (which the *Prince* had sealed, and sworn to perform) till he had further Order from *England*; pretending the *Infanta* might after the *Espousals* betake her self to a *Cloister*, and defraud him of a Wife. *Bristol* was much troubled at this *Restriction*, That a public Act of such Eminency, betwixt two such great *Princes*, highly obliging, should be smothered up by a private *Command* from one of the *Parties*, that had not power to do it, having, in true Justice, tyed up his own hands, and when the *Dis honour* of it would so much reflect upon the other *Party*; and therefore he resolved (notwithstanding the *Prince's* command) if the *Dispensation* came, to make the *Espousals* within ten days according to the agreement: And he would bear himself up, from the authority he had under the great Seal of *England* to perfect this *Work*, if he had not within the limited time a *Command* from Our King to the contrary.

The



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The Duke being jealous of *Bristol*, from some particular *Discontents*, and ill *Resentments* betwixt them, and the Prince, fearing he would be too forward in the *Esponsals*, as soon as they landed in *England* posted towards the King (who was then at *Roiston*) where they gave him a fair and plausible *Narration* of their *Proceedings*, laying the load upon the *Spanish Delaies*, and *Bristol's* miscarriages. Which the King as a Father to his Son, and as a friend to his *Favourite*, indulged to, taking their *Account* without examination as good and just payment. And his good brother of *Spain* must now be dallied with by *Talion Law*; not falling off in a direct line, but obliquely; that the King might thereby measure out to himself a way to his one *Ends*. And these two great *Opposites* to *Spain*, the Prince and Duke, must prepare it, by closing with those of the *Council* about the King, and others of the *Nobility*, whose judgment, not prejudice, made them averse to the *Spanish Superciliousness*, cementing their *Power* with that strength that a *Parliament* must be called, and the People consulted with; That they discovering to the King the fraudulent proceedings of the *Spaniard*, the King's Integrity and Justice in breaking the Treaty might the more appear to the People, and by that means they should be mounted upon the Wings of the Peoples affections, as Enemies to that which was so contrary to them. The News of a *Parliament* to break the *Spanish* match was quickly carried about, and according to their thoughts, it took much with the People, and gained them much respect and *Honour*. But the first thing they did was to procure an absolute Command from the King to the Earl of *Bristol*, to suspend the delivery of the *Proxie* till *Christmas*, though the *Dispensation* came, which they effected, and sent away with all speed. In which Letter, *Bristol* had instructions to demand the *Restitution* of the *Paltinate* and *Electoral Dignity*, which were both waved and neglected in the *Conclusion* of the *Treaty*; but now are set a foot again, to let the King of *Spain* see the edge of their eagerness was taken off. For (saith the Letter) *It would be a great disproportion for me to receive one Daughter with joy, and contentment, and leave another in tears and sighs.*

But *Bristol's* power of deferring the *Esponsals* till *Christmas*, was to be reserved to himself, and not made publick, till the *Dispensation* should come to discover it. And there was a *Clause* in the *Procuracion* left by the Prince, that the *Power* of that should be in force but till *Christmas*, and then to expire; so that the execution of it was to be respited till it were altogether invalid. And the *Spaniard* for his greater affront must make all *Provision* ready, for accomplishing so glorious a work, that all the *Eyes* of the *Christian World* looked upon either with dislike or at-

An. Reg. 20.

An. Christi.

1623.

The Prince comes to Court cold in his *Spanish* affections.

Preparations in Spain for the Marriage.



An. Reg. 20.

An. Christi.

1623.



affection. The King of *Spain* (to be his own free Trumpet) sending into *England* with the Prince, *Don Mendoza de Alcorcana*, to our King to congratulate the Princes happy Voyage into *Spain*, and his safe return into *England*; And from thence he had instructions to go into *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, to make known to all Princes, and Potentates, Allies to the King of *Spain*, how neer the Treaty of Marriage (betwixt the Prince of *England*, and the Infanta of *Spain*) was to be consummated. And the *Polonian* Ambassadour at *Madrid*, that solicited to have the Infanta for the Prince of *Poland*, when he saw such preparations for the Match with *England*, fainted in his Hopes, and returned home. For as soon as the Dispensation came from the new Pope (which was in the beginning of *December*) bonfires were made throughtout all *Spain*, for joy, and the great Ordinance every where thundred out the noise of it. The ninth of the month was prefixt for the Marriage day, a Tarras being erected betwixt the Court, and the next Church, almost a quarter of a mile in length, covered with Tapestry, for the more magnificence, and all things appointed in the highest State for so great a Solemnity. Presents were providing in the Court of *Spain* for Our King and Prince, the Infantas family (to take into *England*) was settled, and established; She had used her best skill among the Sweets of *Spain*, as one of the Principal of them, to cloth her Lord and Husband with some suits of perfumed Amber leather, some imbroidered with Pearl, and some with gold; she had practiced long the *English* tongue to make it natural, by the help of her two Jesuit Tutors, *Wadsworth* and *Boniface*, and began to draw the letters which she intended to have written, the day of her Espousals, to the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father-in-law; Her journey into *England* being resolved on about the beginning of *March*.

Spanish delays  
retaliated.

In this State and perfection were the affairs of *Spain*, when Our King's commands like a Cloud overshadowed the brightness of them. For *Bristol* had now Order to declare positively to the King of *Spain*, that without the Restitution of the Palatinate and the Electoral Dignity, the Treaty should proceed no further. Four Messengers, viz. Mr. *Killigrew*, *Gresly*, *Wood*, and *Davies*, followed each other at the heels, which raised such a dust of Discontentment among the people at *Madrid*, that as some report, they wished they had broken their necks by the way; so highly were the Commonalty of *Spain* affected with the Match! And if they felt the influence of this cloudy Message, what did the Lady Infanta, and the King do? The one to lose her Lover, the other to lose his Honour. She whose heart was affected. and He who found himself affronted. But his answer to *Bristol*, was, *The Palatinate was none of his to give, and the Electorate was in the Power of another; but if the* Emperor



Emperor, and the Duke of Bavaria, would not yield to reason; he would Arm himself on our King's part against them. But this would not satisfy, fair Promises having now lost their Virtue; and the King of Spain discerning a breach towards, by this Various Motion, sent to the Earl of Bristol to demand no more Audience of him; to deliver no more Letters to the Infanta, and gave command that none should call her hereafter Princess of England. This was the end of seven years Treaty. Wherein the King of England, a King of Peace, in spite of all the Spanish Armadoes, got the Victory, and Spain for many years did not receive so great an overthrow. Yet they were paid in their own Coin: For at the first, and in the highest Progress of the Treaty, when Our King was so eager for the Match, in all likelihood they never intended it; But the Prince's Presence gaining much with both Sexes, his journey into Spain being esteemed among them so glorious an action, and the hopes they had now by this Marriage to propagate the Catholic Cause; finding the Prince, as they thought, something inclined that way, better digested their first intentions, and brought it to the state from whence it declined.

An. Reg. 20.

An. Christi.

1623.

The Duke of Buckingham, by the insinuation of a long converse, having brought the Prince up to his own Humor, taught him to look back to the Beauty he had seen in France, which was neerer to him, than he might remember the Spanish no more, now esloigned from him. But the Treaty with Spain must be first dissolved, to give a tincture of Honor to a proceeding with the other, and nothing but a Parliament shall do that, which they had fore-determined. For a Parliament taking away the cause, which was a Treaty of Peace, were best able to make good the effect, which would be a War that must follow it. Therefore a Parliament was summoned to meet the 12th of February, but a sad accident intervened which made it to be deferred for some few daies.

Thoughts of  
a Match with  
France.

A Parliament  
Summoned.

That morning the Parliament was to begin, the King missed the Duke of Richmond's attendance, who being a constant observer of him at all times, the King, as it were, wanted one of his Limbs to support the Grandure of Majesty, at the first solemn meeting of a Parliament, and calling for him with earnestness, a Messenger was dispatched to his Lodgings in Hast, where the King's Commands, and the Messengers importunity, made the Dutches his wife, somewhat unwillingly, go to the Duke's Bed-side to awake him, who drawing the Curtain found him dead in his Bed. The suddenness of the affright struck her with so much Consternation, that she was scarce sensible of the horror of it, and it was carried with that violence to the King, that he would not adorn himself that day to ride in his Glories to the Parliament, but put it off to the nineteenth of February following.

The Duke of  
Richmond dies  
suddenly.



An. Reg. 20.

An. Christi.

1623.

The Dutcheſs  
of Richmonds  
Legend.

lowing, dedicating ſome part of that time to the *Memory* of his dead *Servant*, who might ſerve as a fore-runner to the King, and an *Emblem* to all his People, That in the dark *caverns* of Man's body, *Death* often lurkes, which no humane *Prudence*, or *Providence*, is able to diſcover: For the *Dutcheſs* to ſome of her intimates confeſſed afterwards, that *She found the effects of his full Veines* that night that he was found dead the next Morning.

This Lady was one of the greateſt both for *Birth*, and *Beauty*, in her time, but at firſt ſhe went a ſtep backwards, as it were to fetch a Carreer, to make her mount the Higher. She was Daughter to *Thomas Viſcount Bindon*, ſecond Son to *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, and her Mother was eldeſt Daughter to *Edward Duke of Buckingham*, both which Dukes ſtriving to become Kings, loſt their Heads. Her *Extraction* was high, fit for her great Mind, yet ſhe deſcended ſo low as to marry one *Prannel* a Vintner's Son in *London*, having a good eſtate, who dying, left her *Childleſs*, a young and beautiful Widow; upon whom Sir *George Rodney* a Gentleman in the *Weſt* (ſuitable to her for perſon and fortune) fixing his love, had good hopes from her to reap the fruits of it; But *Edward Earl of Hertford* being intangled with her fair *Eyes*, and ſhe having a tang of her *Grand-Fathers Ambition*, left *Rodney*, and married the *Earl*; *Rodney* having drunk in too much affection, and not being able with his *Reason* to digeſt it, ſummoned up his ſcattered *Spirits* to a moſt deſperate attempt; and coming to *Amesbury* in *Wiltſhire* (where the *Earl* and his Lady were then *Reſident*) to act it, he retired to an Inn in the Town, ſhut himſelf up in a Chamber, and wrote a large paper of well-compoſed *Verses*, to the *Counteſs* in his own blood (ſtrange kind of *Compoſedneſs*) wherein he bewailes and laments his own unhappineſs; and when he had ſent them to her, as a ſad *Cataſtrophe* to all his *Miſeries*, he ran himſelf upon his *Sword*, and ſo ended that life which he thought death to enjoy; leaving the *Counteſs* to a ſtrict remembrance of her inſtancy, and himſelf a deſperate and ſad Spectacle of *Frailty*. But ſhe eaſily paſt this over, and ſo wrought upon the good *Nature* of the *Earl* her Husband, that he ſettled above five thouſand pounds a year jointure upon her for life. In his time She was often courted by the Duke of *Lenox*, who preſented many a fair offering to her, as an humble *Suppliant*; ſometimes in a blew Coat with a Basket-hilt ſword, making his addreſſes in ſuch odd diſguiſes, yet ſhe carried a fair fame during the *Earl's* time. After his deceaſe, *Lenox* and *Richmond*, with the great Title of *Dutcheſs* gave period to her *Honour*, which could not arrive at her *Mind*, ſhe having the moſt glorious and transcendent heights in *Speculation*: for finding the King a *Widower*, She

vow-



vowed after so great a *Prince* as *Richmond*, never to be blown with the *Kisses*, nor eat at the Table of a *Subject*, and this Vow must be spread abroad, that the King may take notice of the Bravery of her spirit: But this *Bait* would not catch the *Old King*, so that she missed her aim, and to make good her *Resolution*, She speciously observed her Vow to the last.

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When She was Countess of *Hertford*, and found admirers about her, She would often discourse of her two Grand-Fathers, the *Dukes of Norfolk and Buckingham*; recounting the time since one of her *Grand-Fathers* did this, the other did that: But if the Earl her Husband came in presence, she would quickly desist; for when he found her in those *Exaltations*, to take her down, he would say, Frank, Frank, *How long is it since thou wert Married to Prannel?* which would damp the Wings of her Spirit, and make her look after her feet, as well as gawdy *Plumes*.

One Little Vanity of this great *Dutchess* (with your *Patience*) may yet croud in this *Story*; She was a *Woman* greedy of *Fame*, and loved to keep great *State* with little Cost: For being much visited by all the *Great ones*, she had her formality of *Officers*, and *Gentlemen*, that gave attendance, and this advantage that none ever eat with her; Yet all the Tables in the Hall were spread, as if there had been Meat, and men to furnish them; but before eating time (the house being voided) the Linnen returned into their folds again, and all her people grazed on some few dishes. Yet whether her *Actions* came into *Fames* fingring, her Gifts were suitable to the greatness of her Mind. For the *Queen of Bohemia* (to the Christning of whose *Child* she was a Witness) had some taste of them. And being blowing up by Admiration for this *Bounty*, either by her own design to magnifie her *Merit*, or by others in Mockery to magnifie her *Vanity*, huge Inventories of *Massie Plate* went up and down, from hand to hand, that she had given that *Queen*, and most believed it; yet they were but Paper presents, those Inventories had an *non est inventus* at the *Hague*, they saw the *Shell*, the Inventory, but never found the *Kernel*, the *Plate*. Such difference there is betwixt solid worth, and *Airy-paper-Greatness*. And it is hoped these sleight intermixtures, will be no great transgression, because long serious things do dull the *Fancy*.

Of her Vissitants.

The King having digested his sudain loss of the *Duke of Richmond*, and fitted himself to make his mind known to his people, in *Parliament*; he went to the *House* the nineteenth, as is said, and opened himself to them to this effect.

To testifie to the World how far my mind hath been from eschewing to assemble a Parliament, and how willing I have been upon all

The King's Speech to the Parliament.



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Occasions to have the advice of my people. I have at this present called you, to approve unto you the earnest desire I have ever had, and still have, to deserve the love of my people, by improving your trust, and communicating unto you a Matter of as great Consequence as ever King imparted to his people, to have their advice and Counsel in.

I shall say unto you as Christ said to the Church, I am your Husband, and you are my Spouse. And as it is the Part of a good Husband to procure, and maintain the love of his wife; which he usually doth by often visiting her, and upon extraordinary Occasions communicating the secrets of his affairs unto her, and by all gentle and affable wayes to gain her Love: So in the administration of Government, I desire to carry my self towards my People. There are two wayes by which a King may shew his love to his People. One is, by a constant administration of Justice, according to the Laws established; the other is, by communicating himself to his People, in their Representative, the Parliament. For the first, I know there's no particular Man of you that hath not enjoyed the Blessing and Benefit of it; which I will say nothing of, because you have been all Witnesses of it, for who hath not found the fruits of it? If he considers the Peace which my Kingdomes enjoy, in the midst of the Miseries our Neighbours are afflicted with. And though I cannot say, my Government hath been without Error, yet this I can truly say, and will avouch it before God, and his Angels, That never King governed with a more pure sincerity, and uncorrupt Heart, than I have done, far from all intention, and meaning of the least Error, or imperfection in my Reign.

I have assembled you at this time to perform the other part, which is duely to impart unto you, a Secret, and a Matter of as great importance as can be to my Estate, and the Estate of my Children; I crave your best, and safest advice, and Counsel, as the Writ whereby you are assembled imports, That the King would advise with you in matters concerning his Estate and Dignity; And as I have ever indeavoured by this, and the like waies, to procure, and cherish the love of my People towards me, So do I hope, and fully believe, that never any King was more beloved of his People (whom you my Lords and Gentlemen do here represent) so I would have you truly represent their loves also to me, that in you as in a true glass I may perfectly behold it, and not as a false glass presents it, not at all, or otherwise than it is indeed. Give me your free and faithful Counsel in this Matter, which is that of which you have often heard, the Match of my Son. Wherein as you may know I have spent much time, with great Cost, in long Treaty, desiring alwaies therein (and not without reason, hoping to have effected my desires) the advancement of my Estate, and Children, and the general Peace of all Christendom. Wherein I have alwaies constantly laboured, depending too much upon fair Hopes and Promises. But at the earnest instance of my Son, I was contented



ted (although it was of an extraordinary Nature) to send him to prosecute his Desires in Spain; and for his more safety I sent Buckingham (in whom I ever reposed the most trust of my Person) with him with this command, to be continually present with him, and never leave him, till he returned safe again unto me; which he performed, though not with such effect as I expected, yet not altogether without Profit; for it taught me this Point of Wisdom, that, Qui versatur in Universalibus, &c. is easily deceived, and it generally brings nothing to good issue; for before any Matter can be fully finished, it must be brought to particulars. I thought before their going, the affairs had been produced to a narrow Point (relying upon their general Propositions) but when they came to the matter, it proved so Raw, as if it had been never treated of, the Generals giving them easie way to evade, and affording them means to avoid the effecting of any thing.

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The Particulars that passed in the Treaty, I mean not now to discover unto you, the time being too short, I referre that to Charles and Buckingham, and the Secretaries, who shall relate unto you all the Particulars. And after that, Super totam materiam, I desire your best assistance and advice; what is best and fittest for me to do, for the good of the Common-wealth, the advancement of Religion, and the good of my Son, and my Children of the Palatine. And of Our Estate I know you cannot but be sensible, considering your Welfare consists in Ours, for you shall be sure to have your share in what misery shall befall us, therefore I need to urge no further Arguments unto you for your choicest and surest Counsell. And I assure you in the faith of a Christian King, that it is Res integra, presented unto you, and that I stand not bound, nor any wayes engaged, but remain free to follow what shall be best advised.

To plant is not sufficient, unless like good Gardiners you pluck up the weeds that will choak your labours; and the greatest weeds among you are jealousies, root them out: for my Actions, I dare avow them before God, but jealousies are of a strange depth. I am the husband, and you the wife, and it is subject to the wife to be jealous of her husband. Let this be far from you! It hath been talked of my remisness in maintenance of Religion, and suspicion of a toleration, but as God shall judge me, I never thought, nor meant, or ever in word expressed any thing that savored of it. It is true, that at times best known to my self, I did not so fully put those lawes in execution, but did wink, and Conniue at some things which might have hindred more weighty Affaires: But I never in all my Treaties agreed to any thing, to the overthrow, or disagreeing of those Lawes; But in all I had a chief regard to the preservation of that Truth, which I have ever professed. And in that respect as I have a Charitable conceit of you, I would have you have the like of me also, in which I did not transgress. For it is a good Horseman's part not alwayes to use the Spur, nor keep streight the Rein,



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Reign, but sometimes to use the Spur, and sometimes to suffer the Reign more remiss; So it is the part of a Wile King (and my Age and experience have informed me) sometimes to quicken the Laws, with strict Execution, and at other times upon just Occasion to be more remiss.

And I would also remove from your thoughts all jealousies, that I might, or ever did question or infringe any of your lawful liberties, or privileges; But I protest before God I ever intended you should enjoy the fulness of all those, that from antient times give good Warrant and Testimony; of which, if need be, I will enlarge, and amplify. Therefore I would have you (as I have in this place heretofore told you, as Saint Paul did Timothy) avoid Genealogies, and curious questions, and quirks and jerks of Law, and idle innovations, and if you minister me no just Occasion, I never yet was, nor ever will be curious or captious to quarrel with you. But I desire you to avoid all doubts, and hindrances, and to compose yourselves speedily, and quietly, to this weighty affair. Carry your selves modestly, and my Prayers shall be to God for you, and my love shall be alwayes with you, that a happy Conclusion may attend this Parliament. God is my Judge, I speak it as a Christian King, never any way faring Man, in the burning, drie, and sandy Desarts, more thirsted for water to quench his thirst, than I thirst and long for the happy success of this Parliament, that the good issue of this, may expiate, and acquit the fruitless issue of the former. And I pray God your Counsels may advance Religion, the publick weal, and the good of me, and my Children.

The Bishop  
of Lincolns  
short Harangue.

When the King had thus ended, the Lord Keeper Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Speaker to the House of Peers (who uses alwayes to make the King's mind further known if there be cause) told the Parliament. That after the Eloquent speech of his Majesty, he would not say any thing, for as one of the Spartan Kings being asked whether he would not willingly hear a man that counterfeited the voice of the Nightingale to the life, made answer, He had heard the Nightingale. So for him to repeat, or rehearse what the King had said, was (according to the Latine Proverb) to enamel a Golden Ring with studs of iron. He doubted not but that the King's Speech had like *Æschines* Orations left in their minds a sting; And as an Historian said of *Nerva*, that having adopted *Trajan*, he was immediately taken away, *Ne post divinum et immortale factum, aliquid mortale faceret*: So he would not dare after his Majesties *Divinum et immortale dictum, mortale aliquid addere*.

This is not inserted to shew the pregnancy, and Genius of the Man, but the temper of the Times; wherein, Men made themselves less than Men, by making Kings little less than Gods. In this the Spanish bravery is to be admired.



red, and the *French* do not much come short of them, who do not idolize their Kings with *Sacred Sovereign*, immortal, and *Oraculous* expressions, but in their humblest *Petitions*, give him the *Title* Sir, tell him their *Business*, and demand *Justice* of him. But where these *Adulations* are admitted, though it doth not strike suddenly with some incurable *Disease*, yet the same hand can make them consume, and in the end wast away to nothing.

But the *Parliament*, though they knew there was an intention of a *Toleration* of Popery upon the close of the *Spanish match*, sealed up (as it were) their *lips*, and would not see the light that discovered it self through this *cloud* that the King cast before it (though some of the *Commons* had much ado to hold, which he takes notice of at the next interview, and thanks them for) but they went on directly to his *Business*, making it their own, forgetting all former miscarriages. And upon the 24. of this *moneth*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, accompanied with the *Prince* as his *Remembrancer*, made a long *Relation* of all the transactions in *Spain*, to both *Houses*, with all the advantage he could, to make good his own *Actions*, some of the *Particulars* whereof are already related. And he took the first *Discovery* of the intention of the King of *Spain* not to deal fairly with *Our King* (touching the *Restitution* of the *Palatinate*) from the *Arch-dutcheß* jugling in the *Treaty* at *Bruxels*, which was managed by Sir *Richard Weston*, our King's *Ambassadour* there, who urged for a *Cessation* of *Armes* in the *Palatinate* (the *Arch-Dutcheß* pretending Power to draw off the *Spanish* Forces, if *Our King* would first draw off his) it came to an *Agreement*; but in the close (after some *Delays*) she confessed she had no Power to admit of a *Cessation*, till she had more particular warrant for it out of *Spain*.

That these shufflings made *Our King* send *Porter* into *Spain* for a more resolute answer, in relation to the *Match*, and the *Palatinate*, and assigned him but ten dayes to stay there; In which time, *Bristol* fed him with *Hopes*, which he found very *Empty* ones: whereupon *Porter* went boldly to *Olivares*, who (in an open-hearted way) told him plainly that *Spain* meant neither the *Match*, nor *Restitution* of the *Palatinate*.

*Bristol* seeing *Porter* would return with this answer, persuaded him to speak with *Olivares* again, who coming to *Olivares*, found him much incensed, for relating the private intimation he gave him, to *Bristol* the *Publick minister*, and denyed to speak with *Porter* any more.

*Bristol* still puffs up *Our King* with an assurance both of the *Match*, and restitution of the *Palatinate*; but they proceeding slowly, the *Prince* desired that he might go himself into *Spain*, which

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Buckinguams  
Relation to  
the Parlia-  
ment.



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which *Buckingham* first broke to the King, who with *Reasons* laid down for it, was drawn to it.

When the *Prince* came there, the *Match* at first was absolutely denied, unless he would be converted, which *Bristol* perswaded the *Prince* unto, at least in shew, to expedite his business.

Then the *Spanish Ministers* urged for a Toleration of *Religion* in *England*, which they hoped (as some of them expressed) would cause a *Rebellion*, and they offered the *Prince* an *Army* to *Assist* him for the *Suppression* of the same.

But the *Prince* finding the *Spanish* did but dallie with him, left a *Proxie* with *Bristol* to conclude the *Match*, when the *Dispensation* came, which the *Prince* forbid him to deliver; *Bristol* nevertheless proceeds, and if *Gresley* had not brought a *Revocation* of the *Proxie* from the King over night, *Bristol* had made the *Esponsalls* the next day. And alwaies at the end of every point, he would look upon the *Prince* for his approbation, and allowance, who still as the *Duke* went on, confirmed the same. And so *Buckingham* concluded, that if the drawing of us out of *Darkness* into *Light*, did deserve thanks, we all owed it to the *Prince*, who by the Hazard of his Person, and by his great care and industry had done this for *Us*.

The Duke  
highly esteemed.

The *Parliament* that looked upon the *Duke* with a Sour Eye for tempting the *Prince* to so dangerous a journey, when they found what excellent effects it had produced, forgot the *Old Murmurs* buzzed against him, and with elevated Voices could scarce be contained from acknowledging him: *The Preserver of the Nation*. This his discovery is Cryed up every where, and who but the *Duke* is become the *Darling* of the *Multitude*? So dear then was the *Prince* unto the People, that they tendred his safety as their own! and so easily might he have retained his *Love*, if by grasping after *Shadows*, he had not lost the *Substance*. For those people are the soonest deceived that love most to admire.

Little deserved.

The *Parliament* were but men, and could at present see no more than the *Duke* was pleased to shew them, through the flattering glass of this *Relation*. But when *Bristol* came over, and (as afterwards he) did discover, that the *Duke* carried the *Prince* purposely into *Spain* to be the better instructed in *Popery*. That he gave hope to the *Spanish Ministers* of *State* of the *Prince's Conversion*, which made them propound far worse Conditions for *Religion* than had been formerly agreed on. That he professed himself a *Papist* there; going to *Mass*, kneeling to, and adoring their *Sacraments*, which the *Pope* being informed of, sent the *Duke* a *Bull*, to perswade, and encourage him to pervert



vert the *King* and *Prince*, with other pernicious Crimes laid to his *Charge* in the next *King's* reign (as may appear in due time) None can blame the *People* for Mutable affections: for when false-hood is so impudent as to hoodwink such an *Assembly*, with the vail that *Truth* her self is wont to put on, who can at an instant discover it?

But it was a hard *Condition* for the banished *Palatine* to have such *Mediators* as *Buckingham*, *Bristol*, and *Weston*, to make intercession for him, the Temper of whose *Spirits* was well known, and which way their affections tended. But now the load is all laid upon *Bristol*; though he were at the distance of not being sensible of it, yet it was so heavy, that most Men thought he would never come to have it taken off.

But all things were passed over by the *Parliament* that reflected upon particulars, having in their eye the general good of the Kingdom, which they strove to manage with advantage. And the Treaty of the Marriage with *Spain* being put into their hands, they crushed the brood in the nest, advising the *King* to break the Treaty, and proclaim open War with that *King*. Which they did not do suddainly, as if they had been eager upon a War, but with good advice, and deliberate consideration, as the most immediate means for the establishment of Religion, and settled Peace; protesting to assist the *King*, for the regaining of the *Palatinate* with their lives, and fortunes. Upon which *Declaration* and *Resolution*, the *King* determined to send instantly post into *Spain*, to his *Ambassadors*, to signifie to that *King* that the *Parliament* advised him to break off the *Treaties*, and to recover the *Palatinate* by *War*, and the *Post* had his *Dispatch* to that purpose, when the *King* repented him of what he had done, and (like the *Husband* now jealous of his *Wife*) writes to *Secretary Conway* this Letter, to impede and delay the business.

I doubt not but you have heard what a stinging Petition against the *Papists*, the Lower House have sent to the Higher House this day, that they might joyntly present it to me; you know my firm Resolution not to make this a War of Religion. And seeing I would be loth to be Conny-catch by my People, I pray you stay the *Post* that is going into *Spain*, till I meet with my Son, who will be here to morrow morning. Do it upon pretext of some more Letters ye are to send by him, and if he should be gone, hasten after him to stay him, upon some such pretext, and let none living know of this as ye love me: and before two in the afternoon to morrow you shall without fail hear from me. Farewell. Apr. 3. 1624.

By this Letter it appears, that the *King* thought the *Petition* against *Recusants* of such high consequence, that if he should

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The Parliament advise the King to break the Treaties with Spain.

The King's Letter to Secretary Conway.

Conjectures on the King's Letter.



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The King's 2.  
speech to both  
Houses.

not give the Parliament a good answer, it might make a *Rupture* with them, and therefore he will see further in the *Nature* of this Petition, before he will break with the King of *Spain*; and know more of the Prince, his Son's mind, happily whether he would yet accept of his Old Mistris, or expect a new one. Or whether the King feared that the Parliament would not make good their Promises, to stand with their lives and fortunes in the *Gap*, when this great breach was made, and so couzen him, may be *Mystical Conjectures* from *Mystical Expressions*, grounded upon the Words of a *King*: Or whether any or all of these (like the *King's* heart inscrutable) are meant in the Letter, is not here determined. But the *King* hastens to the House, and finding no such terrible things in the Petition (the Lords being not so quick in the *Resolution* of it, as the King was in the apprehension of it) he stirs not those Waters, but sounds the depth of the Parliaments Intentions, by propounding his Doubts, and requiring a solution to them, in order to a War, with prudence and caution.

My Lords and Gentlemen all. I have cause first to thank God with my heart, and all the faculties of my mind, that my speech which I delivered in Parliament hath taken so good effect among you, as that with an *Unanime consent*, you have freely, and speedily, given me your advice in this great *Business*, for which I also thank you all as heartily as I can. I also give my particular thanks to the Gentlemen of the *lower House*, for that I hear, when some among them would have cast jealousies, and doubts, between me and my people, you presently quelled those *Motions*, which might have hindred the happy agreement I hope to find in this Parliament. You give me your advice to break off both the Treaties as well concerning the Match, as the *Palatinate*. And now give me leave as an old King to propound my Doubts, and hereafter give me your answer.

First it is true that I who have been all the dayes of my life a peaceable King, and have had the Honour in my *Titles*, and impress to be stiled *Rex pacificus*, should without necessity, imbroil my self in a War. Which is so far from my *Nature* and from the *Honour* I have had both at home and abroad, in endeavouring to avoid the effusion of *Christian* blood (of which too much hath been shed) and so much against my *Heart*, that unless it be upon such a necessity, that I may call it (as some merrily say it of Women) *Malum Necessarium*, I shall be loth to enter into it. And I must likewise acquaint you that I have had no small hopes given me of *Obtaining* better *Conditions*, for *Restitution* of the *Palatinate*, and that even since the setting down of this Parliament. But be not jealous, nor think me such a *King*, that would under

pre



‘ pretext of asking your advice put a scorn upon you, by disdain-  
 ‘ ing or rejecting it. For you remember, that in my first *Speech*  
 ‘ unto you, for proof of my *Love* to my *People*, I craved your ad-  
 ‘ vice in this great and weighty affair. But in a matter of this  
 ‘ *Weight*, I must consider how this *Course* may agree with  
 ‘ my *Conscience* and *Honour*, and next, according to the  
 ‘ *Parable* uttered by our *Saviour*, (after I was resolved of the *Ne-*  
 ‘ *cessity*, and justness of the *Cause*) to consider how I shall be en-  
 ‘ abled to raise *Forces* for this purpose.

‘ As concerning the *Case* of my *Children*. I am now old, and  
 ‘ would be glad, as *Moses* saw the Land of *Promise* from a high  
 ‘ Mountain (though he had not leave to set his foot in it) so would  
 ‘ it be a great *Comfort* to me, that God would so long prolong my  
 ‘ daies, as, if I might not see the *Restitution*, yet at least to be assu-  
 ‘ red that it would be. That then I might with old *Simeon* say,  
 ‘ *Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine*! Otherwise it would be a  
 ‘ great grief unto me, and I should dy with a heavy, and discom-  
 ‘ forted *Heart*. I have often said, and particularly in the last  
 ‘ Parliament, (and I shall be ever of the *Mind*) that as I am not  
 ‘ ambitious of other *Mens* Goods or Lands, so I desire not to en-  
 ‘ joy a furrow of Land in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, without  
 ‘ *Restitution* of the *Palatinate*; and in this *Mind* I will live and  
 ‘ dy.

‘ But let me acquaint you a little with the difficulties of this  
 ‘ *Case*; He is an unhappy man who shall advise a *King* to *War*,  
 ‘ and it is an unchristian thing to seek that by blood, which may  
 ‘ be had by *Peace*. Besides, I think your Intentions are not to in-  
 ‘ gage me in a War, but withal you will consider how many  
 ‘ things there are requisite thereunto. I omit to speak of my  
 ‘ Own Necessities, they are too well known; Sure I am, I have  
 ‘ had the least help in *Parliament* of any King that reigned over  
 ‘ you these many years; I have let you know that my disabili-  
 ‘ ties are increased, by the *Charge* of my Son’s Journey into *Spain*  
 ‘ (which I was at for his *Honour*, and the *Honour* of the *Nation*)  
 ‘ by sending *Ambassadors*, by Maintenance of my *Children*, and  
 ‘ by assisting of the *Palatinate*. I have incurred a great Debt to  
 ‘ the *King* of *Denmark*, which I am not able to pay. The *Low-*  
 ‘ *Countries* (who in regard of their nearness are fittest to help for  
 ‘ the *Recovery* of the *Palatinate*) are at so low an ebb, that if I  
 ‘ assist them not, they will be scarce able to subsist. The *Printes*  
 ‘ of *Germany* that should do me any good, are all poor, and weak,  
 ‘ and disheartned, and do expect assistance from hence. For *Ire-*  
 ‘ *land*, I leave it to you, if that be not a back-door fit to be secu-  
 ‘ red. For the *Navy*, I thank God it is now in a better *Case* than  
 ‘ ever it was, yet more must be done, and before it can be pre-  
 ‘ pared as it ought to be, it will require a new *Charge*, as well for  
 ‘ the own *Strength*, as for securing of the *Coasts*. My *Children*

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An. Reg. 22.

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(I vow to God) eat no bread but by my means, I must maintain them, and not see them want. My *Customs* are the best part of my *Revenues*, and in effect the *Substance* of all I have to live on; All which are Farmed out upon *Condition*, That if there be *War*, those *Bargains* are to be annulled. *Subsidies* ask a great time to bring in; and if you assist me that *Way*, I must take them up before-hand upon *Credit*, which will eat up a great part of them.

This being my *Case*, to enter into a *War* without sufficient means to support it, were to shew my *Teeth* and do no more. In the mean time, I heartily thank you for your *Advice*, and will seriously think upon it; As I pray you to consider of these other *Points*. My *Treasurer*, to whose *Office* it appertains, shall more at large inform you of those things that concern my *Estate*.

Thus freely do I open my *Heart* to you, and having your *Hearts*, I cannot want your *Helps*; for it is the *Heart* that opens the *Purse*, not the *Purse* the *Heart*. I will deal frankly with you, shew me the means how I may do what you would have me; and if I take a *Resolution* upon your *Advice* to enter into a *War*, then your own *Deputies* shall have the disposing of the *Money*, I will not meddle with it, but you shall appoint your own *Treasurers*.

I say not this with purpose to invite you to open your *Purses*, and then to flight you so much as not to follow your *Counsel*, nor ingage you before I be ingaged my self. Give me what you will for my own means, for I protest none of the *Money* which you shall give for these *Uses*, shall be issued but for those ends. If upon your *Offer* I shall find the means to make a *War* honourable, and safe, (and that I resolve to imbrace your *Advice*) then I promise you on the *Word* of a *King*, That although *War* and *Peace* be the peculiar *Prerogative* of *Kings*, yet as I have advised with you in the *Treaties*, on which *War* may ensue, so I will not Treat nor accept of *Peace*, without first acquainting you with it, and hearing your *Advice*, and therein go the proper way of *Parliament*, in conferring and consulting with you: And happily, *Conditions* of *Peace* will be the better, when we are prepared for *War*, according to the *Proverb*, That *Weapons* breed *Peace*.

Your kind *Carriage* gives me much *Contentment*, and that comforts me which my Lord of *Canterbury* said, That there was not a contrary *Voice* among you all, like the *Seventy Interpreters*, who were led by the breath of God.

I am so desirous to forget all rents in former *Parliaments*, that it shall not be my default, if I be not in love with *Parliaments*, and call them often, and desire to end my life in that intercourse between Me and my People, for making of good *Laws*.



*Laws*, reforming abuses, and maintaining the good Govern-  
ment of the *Common-Wealth*. Therefore go on cheerfully,  
and advise of these *points*, and my *Resolution* shall be then, de-  
clared.

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None can blame the *King* for being too cautelous, or wary in  
such an *Eruption* as this, so contrary to his *Nature* (as he saith  
himself) a *War* was a new *World* to him, fearing to lay out by  
it more than he should receive. And in this, he was like the  
*Man*, that when his *Master* gave great *Charge* to go and gather  
up his *Rents* in the *Country*, and to take a pair of *Pistols* with him,  
to bring home his *Money* with the more security: After the  
*Master* had appointed him to pay so much in one place, and so  
much in another, that the *Man* saw he should not receive so  
much as he should disburse, *Bid his Master take his Pistols again,*  
*he should not use them.* So the *King* fearing that when the *War*  
was begun, there would not be wherewithal to maintain it,  
*Thanked the Parliament for their Advice, and he would consider*  
*better of it.* And they feeling the *King's Pulse* by his expressi-  
ons, relolved now not to let him flag, but to keep up the tem-  
per of his *Spirit*, that a little thing would make decline again.  
And therefore they seriously settled to their *Business*, and an-  
swered his *Expectation* fully, which they presented unto him  
shortly after, in these words, to his great *Satisfaction*.

The Parliament  
close with the  
King.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your Majesties most *Humble and Loyal Subjects, the*  
*Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled,*  
do first render to your Sacred Majesty, Our most *Dutiful Thanks*, for  
that to Our unspeakable Comfort, you have vouchsafed to express  
your Self so well satisfied with Our late Declaration made unto your  
Majesty, of Our general Resolution in pursuit of Our *Humble Ad-*  
*vice to assist your Majesty in a Parliamentary way, with Our Per-*  
*sons and Abilities.* And whereas your Majesty in your Great *Wis-*  
*dom and Judgment, foreseeing that it will make a deeper impression,*  
*both in the Enemies of that Cause, and in your Friends and Allies, if*  
*they shall not onely hear of the Cheerful Offers, but also see the Real*  
*performance of your Subjects towards so great a Work.* Your Ma-  
jesty was pleased to descend to a particular Proposition for the ad-  
vancing of this great *Business*. We therefore in all humbleness  
most ready and willing to give your Majesty and the whole World  
an ample Testimony of Our *Sincere and Dutiful Intentions* herein,  
upon Mature Advice and Deliberation, as well of the *Weight and*  
*Importance, of this great Affair, as of the present Estate of this your*  
*Kingdom, (the Weal and Safety whereof, is in Our Judgments ap-*  
*parently threatned, if your Majesties Resolution for the Dissolving*  
*of the Treaties, now in question, be longer deferred, and that Pro-*  
vision

Their Decla-  
ration.



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vision for defence of your Realm, and aid of your Friends, and Allies, be not seasonably made) have with a Cheerful Consent of all the Commons (no one dissenting) and with a Full, and Cheerful Consent of the Lords, Resolved, That upon your Majesties publique Declaration, for the Dissolution, and utter Discharge of both the said Treaties of the Marriage, and the Palatinate, in pursuit of Our Advice therein, and towards the Support of that War, which is likely to ensue; And more particularly for those four Points proposed by your Majesty. Namely, for the Defence of this your Realm; the Securing of Ireland; the assistance of your Neighbours, the States of the United Provinces; and other your Majesties Friends, and Allies; and for the setting forth of your Royal Navy; We will grant for the present, the greatest Aid which ever was given in Parliament. That is to say, Three intire Subsidies, and three Fifteens, to be all paid within the compass of one whole Year, after your Majesty shall be pleased to make the said Declaration; The Money to be paid into the Hands, and expended by the Direction of such Committees, or Commissioners, as hereafter shall be agreed upon at this present Session of Parliament. And We most humbly beseech your Majesty, to accept of these First Fruits of Our Hearty Oblation, dedicated to that Work, which We infinitely desire may prosper, and be advanced. And for the Future to rest confidently assured, That We your Loyal and Loving Subjects, will never fail in a Parliamentary way, to assist your Majesty in so Royal a Design; wherein your Own Honour, and the Honour of your most Noble Son the Prince, the Antient Renown of this Nation, the Welfare and very Subsistence of your Noble, and Onely Daughter, and her Consort, and their Posterity, the Safety of your Own Kingdom, and People, and the Prosperity of your Neighbours, and Allies, are so deeply engaged.

The Treaties  
with Spain dissolved.

The Parliament by this Declaration came up so close to the King, that he could make no evasion, but rested contented now in his Latter time (when the *Almonds* (as it were) begun to *Blossom* upon his head) to plunge himself into a *War*: which brought him again to the *Parliament*, to thank them for their *Readiness* to assist him, telling them, That he is willing to follow their advice in the *Anulling* and breach of these two *Treaties*. They having given enough to begin a *War*, but when the end will be (he said) *God knows*. Yet he will engage for himself and his Son, his *Successour*, That no means shall be left unused for recovery of the *Palatinate*. And for all his *Old Age* (if it might do any good) he would go in person to further the *Business*. But as he is contented to have the *Parliament Committees* to dispose of the Moneys by their *Directions*, so the *Design* must not be acted by publique *Councils*; For whether he shall send *Two thousand*, or *Ten thousand*; whether by *Sea* or *Land*,  
East,



East, or West, by Diversion or Invasion, upon the Bavarian, or the Emperor, that must be left to the King. And this he did, that there might be no jealousies, but to smooth every Roub betwixt them.

And to put it in execution, a Council of War is chosen out of the old, and long discontinued Militia of Ireland, and some others of the Nobility; and upon result of their Counsels (after some debate) it was concluded, to send six thousand men for the present into the Low Countreys, to joyn with the States Forces, against the King of Spain's mighty Armies, under the command of Marquess Spinola, that threatned the next Summer to overrun the Netherlands, that weakning the Spaniard in Flanders, they might have the more free access into Germany.

The Dissolution of the Treaties with Spain, and the preparation for War resounding in every Ear, gave such an Alarm to the Spanish Ambassadour, the Marquess of Inosfa, that whether out of Truth, and Knowledge (as he pretended) or Malice only, cannot be determined: But he sent to the King, to let him know, that the Duke of Buckingham had some dangerous Machination a foot, that tended to his Destruction, and the best he could expect, would be a confinement to a Countrey-house, in some Park during his life; the Prince being now in full abilities and ripe in Government. This Concussion was strong enough to shake an old building, that was of a fearful, and tottering Temper (especially if he considered how his Mother was put by her Government, to say nothing of Prince Henry) but the violence of it did not work, because the Operation was somewhat mitigated by the Duke's Protestation of his Innocency. For the King at the next interview saying to him. Ah Stenny, Stenny, (which was the Familiar name he alwayes used to him) Wilt thou kill me? The Duke struck into an Astonishment with the Expression; after some little Pause, collected himself, and with many asseverations strove to justify his integrity; which the good King was willing enough to believe, and Buckingham finding by some discourse, that Padre Macestria the Spanish Jesuit, had been with the King, he had then a large Theme for his Vindication, turning all upon the Spanish Jesuitical Malice, which proceeded from the ruins of their quashed Hopes. And the King knowing Inosfa and all that Party, very bitter against Buckingham; and though he did not directly accuse the Prince to be in the Conspiracy, with Buckingham, yet he reflected upon him; for such an attempt could never have been effected without his Privity; therefore out of the Bowels of good Nature he did unbelieve it; and after examinations of some Persons the Duke's Intimates, and their constant denial upon oath (which they had no good Cause to confess) the King was

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The Spanish Ambassadour accuses Buckingham of Treason.



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Bristol sent to  
the Tower.The Parlia-  
ments Petition  
against Recu-  
sants.

was content (being loth to think such an *Enterprize* could be fo-  
stred so neer his own *Bosom*) to have the *Brat* strangled in the  
*Womb*. And he presently sent into *Spain* to desire *Justice* of  
that *King*, against the *Ambassadors* fallie *Accusation*, which  
he said wounded his *Son's Honour* through *Buckingham's*  
side, which *Sir Walter Aston* represented to the *King* of  
*Spain* (for *Bristol* was coming over to justifie his *Actions* to  
the *Parliament*.) But the *Duke of Buckingham's* reputation there  
procured no other *Satisfaction*, than some little check of *for-*  
*mality*; for when *Inoiosa* was recalled home, he was not lessen'd  
in esteem. Thus was this *Information* waved, though there  
might be some cause to *suspect*, that the great intimacy, and  
*Dearness*, betwixt the *Prince* and *Duke* (like the conjunction of  
two dreadful *planets*.) could not but portend the production of  
some very dangerous effect to the old *King*.

But the *Duke's Reputation*, though it failed in *Spain*, held firm  
footing in *England*; for *Bristol* no sooner appeared, but he is  
clapt up in the *Tower*. Their *jugling practices* (whereof they  
were Both guilty enough) must not yet come to light, to dis-  
turb the *Proceedings* in *Parliament*. *Bristol* had too much of the  
*King's Commission* for what he did (though he might overshoot  
himself in what he said) which was not now to be discovered. Yet  
the *Rigor* of that imprisonment would have sounded too loud, if  
he had not had a suddain *Release*; who finding the *Duke* high  
mounted yet in power, and himself in no *Degree* to grapple with  
him, was content with *Submission* to gain his *liberty*, and retire  
himself to a *Country privacy*.

The *Lords* being now at leisure began to consider of that *sting-*  
*ing petition* (as the *King* called it) against *Papists*, how necessary  
it was to joyn with the *Commons*, to supplicate the *King* to take  
down the pride of their high-flying *Hopes*, that had been long  
upon the *Wing*, watching for their prey, and now they  
are made to stoop without it. And after some *Conferences* be-  
twixt both *Houses* about it, the *Petition* was reduced to these  
two *Propositions*, and presented to the *King* as two *Petitions*.

We your *Majestie's* most humble and loyal *Subjects* the *Lords* and  
*Commons* assembled in *Parliament*, do in all humbleness offer un-  
to your Sacred *Majesty* these two *Petitions* following.

I. That for the more safety of your *Realms*, and better keeping  
your *Subjects* in *Obedience*, and other important *Reasons* of *State*,  
your *Majesty* would be pleased (by some such course as you shall think  
fit) to give present *Order*, that all the *Laws* be put in due ex-  
ecution, which have been made, and to stand in force against  
*Jesuits*, *Seminary Priests*, and others, having taken *Orders* by  
authority derived from the *See of Rome*, and generally against all  
*Popish Recusants*. And as for *disarming*, that it may be ac-  
cording



according to the Laws, and according to former Acts, and Directions of State, in that Case. And yet that it may appear to all the World, the Favour and Clemency your Majesty useth towards all your Subjects of what Condition soever; And to the intent the Jesuits, and Priests, now in the Realm, may not pretend to be surprized, that a speedy and certain day may be prefixed, by your Majesties Proclamation, before which day they shall depart out of this Kingdom, and all other your Highness Dominions; and neither they nor any other to return or come hither again, upon peril of the severest Penalties of the Laws now in force against them. And that all your Majesties Subjects may thereby also be admonished, not to receive, entertain, or conceal, any of them, upon the Penalties, and Forfeitures, which by the Laws may be imposed on them.

2. Seeing We are thus happily delivered from that danger, which those Treaties now dissolved, and that use which your ill-affected Subjects made thereof, would certainly have drawn upon us, and yet cannot but foresee, and fear lest the like may hereafter happen, which would inevitably bring much peril upon your Majesties Kingdoms; We are most humble Suiters unto your Gracious Majesty, to secure the Hearts of your good Subjects, by the ingagement of your Royal Word unto them, that upon no occasion of Marriage or Treaty, (or other request in that behalf, from any foreign Prince or State whatsoever) you will take away or slacken the Execution of your Laws against Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants.

To which Our humble Petitions (proceeding from Our most Loyal and Dutiful affections towards your Majesty, Our Care of Our Countries good, and our own confident persuasion, that these will much advance the Glory of Almighty God, the everlasting Honour of your Majesty, the Safety of your Kingdoms, and the encouragement of all your good Subjects) We do most humbly beseech your Majesty to vouchsafe a gracious Answer.

The King was prepared for the Petition, having given his own Resolution the Check at present; that whatsoever he might do hereafter, yet now he would comply; and therefore he sends for both Houses to Whitehall, to sweeten them with a gentle answer to this Petition, that might take off those sour aspersions that this miscarriage in Government might happily cast upon him. And we will not say but his intentions might rove towards the End, though he gave too much liberty (through a Natural easiness in himself) to those that He trusted with Management of the great affairs, by evil means to pervert that end, which made him guilty of their Actions: For where true Piety is not the Director, Carelessness as often as Wilfulness carries men out of the way. But he had this Principle, and made often use of it, (like ill Tenants when they let things run to ruin) to dab all up again, when forced to it, and find no other Remedy. This was the effect of what he said in his own excuse.

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The King prepared for it.



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The Kings  
answers to  
the Parlia-  
ments Petiti-  
ons, 23. Apt.

*My Lords and Gentlemen of both Houses, I cannot but commend your Zeal, in offering this Petition to me; yet on the other side, I cannot but hold my Self unfortunate, that I should be thought to need a Spur to do that which my Conscience, and Duty, binds me unto. What Religion I am of, my Books do declare, my Profession, and Behaviour doth shew, and I hope in God I shall never live to be thought otherwise; surely I shall never deserve it: And for my part I wish it may be written in Marble, and remain to Posterity as a mark upon me, when I shall swerve from my Religion: For he that doth dissemble with God, is not to be trusted with Men.*

*My Lords, for my part, I protest before God, That my Heart hath bled when I have heard of the increase of Popery. God is my judge, it hath been such a great grief to me, that it hath been as Thorns in my Eyes, and Pricks in my Sides, and so for ever I have been and shall be from turning another way. And my Lords and Gentlemen, you shall be my Confessors, that one way or other it hath been my Desire to hinder the growth of Popery, and I could not be an honest Man, if I should have done otherwise; And this I may say further, That if I be not a Martyr, I am sure I am a Confessor, and in some sense I may be called a Martyr, as in the Scripture, Isaac was Persecuted by Ismael, by mocking Words, for never King suffered more ill Tongues than I have done, and I am sure for no cause; yet I have been far from Persecution, for I have ever thought, that no way increased any Religion more than Persecution, according to that Saying, Sanguis Martyrum est Semen Ecclesiae.*

*Now my Lords and Gentlemen, for your Petition, I will not onely grant the Substance of what you craved, but add somewhat more of my own. For the Two Treaties being already annulled (as I have declared them to be) it necessarily follows of it self, that which you desire, and therefore it needs no more, but that I do declare by Proclamation, (which I am ready to do) That all Jesuits, and Priests, do depart by a Day; but it cannot be as you desire, by Our Proclamation to be out of all my Dominions; for a Proclamation here, extends but to this Kingdom.*

*This I will do, and more, I will Command all my Judges, when they go their Circuits, to keep the same Courses, for putting all the Laws in Execution against Recusants, as they were wont to do, before these Treaties: for the Laws are still in force, and were never dispensed with by me. God is my judge, they were never so intended by me. But as I told you in the beginning of the Parliament, you must give me leave as a good Horse-man sometimes to use the Reins, and not always to use the Spurs. So now there needs nothing but my Declaration for the disarming of them, that is already done by the Laws, and shall be done as you desired. And more,*



I will take order for the shameful disorder of the Resorting of my Subjects to all foreign Ambassadors; of this I will advise with my Council how it may be best reformed. It is true, that the Houses of Ambassadors are privileged places, and though they cannot take them out of their Houses, yet the Lord Mayor, and Mr. Recorder of London, may take some of them as they come from thence, and make them Examples. Another Point I will add, concerning the Education of their Children, of which I have had a principal care, as the Lord of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester, and other Lords of my Council can bear me witness, with whom I have advised about this Business: For in good faith it is a shame their Children should be bred here, as if they were at Rome: So I do grant not onely your Desire, but more: I am sorry I was not the first mover of it to you; But had you not done it, I should have done it my self.

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Now for the second part of your Petition; You have there given me the best advice in the World; For it is against the Rule of Wisdom, that a King should suffer any of his Subjects to transgress the Laws, by the intercession of other Princes; and therefore assure your selves, that (by the Grace of God) I will be careful that no such Conditions be foisted in upon any other Treaty whatsoever: For it is fit my Subjects should stand or fall to their own Laws.

If the King had seriously and really considered the Minute of this Petition, the very last Clause, wherein the Glory of God, and the Safety of his Kingdoms, so much consisted, as the Parliament wisely express, and foresee, and which the King saith is the best Advice in the World, and which he promised to faithfully to observe in the next Treaty of Marriage for his Son, it might perhaps have kept the Crown upon the Head of his Posterity. But when Princes break with the People, in those Promises that concern the Honour of God, God will let their people break with them to their Ruin and Dishonour. And this Maxim holds in all Powers, whether Kingdoms or Common Wealths; As they are established by Justice, so the Justice of Religion which tends most to the Glory of God, is principally to be observed.

The King promises much, performs little.

The King grants them more than they desire, but not so much as they hope for: they have many good words thick sown, but they produce little good fruit. Yet the Parliament followed the Chace close, and bolted out divers of the Nobility and Gentry of Eminency, Popishly affected, that had Earth'd themselves in Places of high Trust and Power in the Kingdom, as if they meant to under-mine the Nation. Viz.



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A swarm of  
Popery.

*Francis Earl of Rutland*, the Duke of *Buckingham's* Wives Father. *Sir Thomas Compton*, that was married to the Duke's Mother; And the Countess her self, who was the Cynosure they all steered by. The Earl of *Castle-Haven*. The Lord *Herbert*, after Earl of *Worcester*. The Lord Viscount *Colchester*, after Earl of *Rivers*. The Lord *Peter*. The Lord *Morley*. The Lord *Windsor*. The Lord *Eure*. The Lord *Wotton*. The Lord *Teinham*, The Lord *Scroop*, who was Lord President of the North (and which they omitted, the Earl of *Northampton*, Lord President of *Wales*, who married his Children to Papists, and permitted them to be bred up in Popery.) *Sir William Courtney*, *Sir Thomas Brudnell*, *Sir Thomas Somerset*, *Sir Gilbert Ireland*, *Sir Francis Stonners*, *Sir Anthony Brown*, *Sir Francis Howard*, *Sir William Powell*, *Sir Francis Lacon*, *Sir Lewis Lewkner*, *Sir William Awberie*, *Sir John Gage*, *Sir John Shelly*, *Sir Henry Carvel*, *Sir Thomas Wiseman*, *Sir Thomas Gerrard*, *Sir John Filpot*, *Sir Thomas Russell*, *Sir Henry Bedingfield*, *Sir William Wrey*, *Sir John Conwey*, *Sir Charles Jones*, *Sir Ralph Connyers*, *Sir Thomas Lamplough*, *Sir Thomas Savage*, *Sir William Moseley*, *Sir Hugh Beston*, *Sir Thomas Riddall*, *Sir Marmaduke Wivel*, *Sir John Townesend*, *Sir William Norris*, *Sir Philip Knewit*, *Sir John Tasborough*, *Sir William Selbie*, *Sir Richard Titchborn*, *Sir John Hall*, *Sir George Perkins*, *Sir Thomas Penrod-duck*, *Sir Nicholas Sanders*, Knights; Besides divers *Esquires* possibly addicted, either in their own Persons, or by means of their Wives, too tedious to be expressed here. And these were dispersed and seated in every County, who were not only in Office and Commission, but had Countenance from Court, by which they grew up and flourished, so that their exuberancie hindered the growth of any Goodness, or Piety, their Malice pleased to drop upon.

Herba mimosa.

These men being now touched, began to shrink in their Branches, like the new-found *Indian Plants*, but they quickly put out again: for though this Disturbance, or Movement, came upon them, by the Dissolution of one Treaty, yet they presently got heart, and spread again, by the other which was in Agitation.

A Treatie of  
Marriage with  
France.

For our King after the Breach with *Spain*, loth to be refused in *France*, (where the Younger Daughter to *Henry the Great*, was reserved to be the Fatal Mother of a Disherited Royal Issue) durst not venture upon an Overt Treaty, but sends over the Lord *Kensington*, newly made Earl of *Holland*, who was to sound the King, and *Grandeess* of *France*, whether the Match were feasible, before he would begin to Treat ubliquely. He remained a Month in *France*, and moved not a word, though they apprehended his address was to that end. While the Prince was in *Spain*, they looked



looked upon the Count Soisson, as a fit Match for the Princess Henrietta Maria, but our Prince's Gallantry (as they esteemed it there) and his Spritely carriage in so dangerous, and hazardous a Journey, both by Sea, and Land, took such impressions in the frisk of the French Humour, and raised him to such a height of Bravery among them, that they were impetuously Violent in desiring the Match; Insomuch as upon the very first Overture, the King of France told the Earl of Holland, That he had rather have the Prince of England to his Brother, than any man in the World. And when the Treaty was begun, the Spanish Factors began to play their parts with the Pope, so that he sent to the King of France to get some Immunities in the Articles now in Treaty, for the Catholics in England, and that there might be publique exercise of the Popish Religion for the Princess. This the Earl of Holland opposing, the King of France told him, That if he would go on with the Treaty, he would be tyed no further to the Pope's Rules than did consist with Reason; For he did acknowledge the next Diocesan Bishop to him, in his Dominions, to have as much power as he. So that the Treaty went on with a petty admittance of the Catholique Religion, and Romish Ministers about the Princess, to a private, and almost obscure Condition; so eager was the King of France for the Match.

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But the Jesuitical Party, both here, and there, were incessantly laborious for a greater Liberty, and the King's chief Agent in the Treaty, Monsieur de Vieuxwill, having pulled on him the Odium of the people (through some miscarriages) being committed Prisoner by the King, to protect him from their Rage, the Cardinal Richelieu entring then into his Infancy of Favour, being preferred by the Queen-Mother to be a manager of the Treaty, whose Intimate he was, and more Stubborn for promoting the Catholique Cause, yet all this could give no stop to the Career, but that the Match would be made up upon very easie Terms.

But when the King of France understood by his Ministers, and Agents in England, how eager our King was for the Match, (for he desired it above all Earthly Blessings, as one near him said of him) for besides the Reproach he thought would fall upon him by another Breach, he should lose the Glory of a Conjunction with Kings (which he highly wound up his Opinion to) to Sublime, and, as it were, Deifie his Posterity in the esteem of the people, so that he would almost submit to any thing, rather than the Match should not go forward; which the King of France finding, he bated his Humour of earnestness for it, and descended by the same Steps and Degrees that he found his Brother King advanced to it; and got several great Immunities for the Papists by it: notwithstanding all Our King's fair Promises to the Parliament, as may



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I. 6. 2. 4.

The Lord  
Treasurer  
questioned in  
Parliament.

may be seen by those *Articles*; seal'd, and sworn to by Our King, some few Months before his Death.

But a little before this (when the *Hopes* of the Match with France began to bud) the Earl of Carlile was sent over to mature, and ripen the proceedings with the Earl of Holland, to bring the Treaty to some perfection, yet with private instructions, That if they could find by their *Spanish Correspondencies* (as the Earl of Carlile was a little *Hispanioliz'd*) that the Match there had any *Probability* of taking effect with the new Propositions; that then they should proceed no further in the French Treaty: so earnest was the King for the one, so Violent for the other; The *Sophisticate Drugs* of the Spanish Restitution of the Palatinate, having not yet lost their Operation. Thus the Ambition of Princes (that devolve all their Happiness upon glorious Extractions) doth choak and smother those Considerations, that Religion (like a clear light) discovers to be but gross, and cloudy Policy, which vanishes often, and comes to nothing.

The Duke of Buckingham sworn with Grandure (having two great Props to support him) doubted not to Crush any thing that stood in his way, so that he fell very heavily upon his Cousen the Earl of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer; for he remembered how he repined at the Moneys that were spent in Spain, and his Comportment to him since his coming over (Middlesex being naturally of a Sullen and proud Humor) was not such as (he thought) did become his Creature: Therefore he Resolved to bring him down from that Height he had placed him in, and quickly found the means to do it. For great Officers that dig deep in Worldly Treasures, have many Underminers under them; and those that are not just to themselves or others, must make use of such as will not be so just to them, so that a flaw may easily be found, whereby a great Breach may be made. And as Middlesex had not Innocency to Justifie himself, so he wanted Humility whereby others might Justifie him, which made him fall unpitied. The Prince (that was Buckingham's right hand) took part against him in the House of Lords, where he was Questioned; which the King hearing of, writes to the Prince from New-Market, (whither he often retired to be free, and at ease from comber, and noise of Business) That he should not take part with any Faction in Parliament against the Earl of Middlesex, but to reserve himself, so that both sides might seek him; for if he bandied to take away his Servants, the time would come that others would do as much for him. This wise Advice speaks Buckingham a little declining from the Meridian of the King's Favour, or the King from his; For if the King did know that Buckingham was his chief Persecutor, it could not but relish ill with the Duke to have the King plead for him; if the King did not know, there was not then



then that intimacy betwixt them that used to be. But the *Treasurer's Actions* being throughly canvased (though he had not had such great *Enemies*) he was found guilty of such misdemeanors, as were not fit for a *Man of Honour* to commit, so that the *Parliament* thought to *Degrade* him; but that they looked on as an ill *Precedent*. But though they took not away his *Titles of Honour* in *Relation* to his *Posterity* (who had not offended) yet they made him utterly incapable of *sitting* in the *House of Lords* as a *Peer*. And for his fine, it was so great, that the *Duke* (by *Report*) got *Chelsie House* out of him for his part of it.

An. Reg. 21

An. Christi.

1624.

There was an odd accident hapned in *Northampton-shire* while this *Treasurer* was in his *Greatness*. One *Harman* a rich man (that knew not well how to make use of his *Riches*) having some bad *Tenants*, and being informed that one of them which *Owed* him money, had furnished himself to go to a *Fair*, to buy some *Provisions* for his accommodation: *Harman* walks (as by accident) to meet him in the way to the *Market*; when he saw his *Tenant*, he askt him for his *Rent*; the man (that was willing otherwise to dispose of his *money*) denied he had any; Yes I know thou hast money, said *Harman*, (calling him by his *Name*) I prithee let me have my *Rent*; and with much importunity the man pulled out his money, and gave all, or the most part of it to his *Landlord*. This coming to some *Pragmatical* knowledg, the poor *Man* was advised to indict his *Landlord* for *Robbing* him, and taking his *Money* from him, in the *High-way*; which he did, and *Harman* for his *Sordid* and base carriage, being ill beloved in the *Countray*, was found guilty, but reprieved by the *Judges*; And *Harman* hearing the *Lord Treasurer* had a *Secretary* of his *Name*, he applied himself to him, promising to give him all his *Estate* (having no *Children*) if his *Lord* would bring him out of the *Danger* he was in; which the *Lord Treasurer* by his power with the *King* did effect, and *Harman* his *Man* within a short time after (by the other's death) injoyed an ample estate.

Harman's story

The *King* being a good *Master*, did by his *Bounty* much indear his *Servants* unto him, and seldom denied any man a *Reasonable Sute*; This *Treasurer* by his *Greatness* also procured the *King*, by *Patent* (after the example of the *Countess of Buckingham*) to create *Elizabeth*, the *Widow* of *Sir Moyle Fynch of Kent*, *Viscountess of Maidstone*, A *Lady* of a great *Fortune*, and having a *Mind* suitable to it, she laid the *Foundation* of a *Noble Family*, intailing not onely this *Title*, but in the next *King's* *Reign*, the *Earldom of Winchelsey*, upon her now flourishing *Posterity*. But it is thought this *Treasurer* got well by laying the ground-work to this great *Structure*; For *Copt-Hall* (a *Noble Seat* in *Essex*) came to his hand from

The Lady Finch Viscountess of Maidstone.



An. Reg. 21.

An. Christi.

1624.

Four Regi-  
ments sent  
into Holland.

Spinola be-  
sieges Breda.

from this Lady at a small value; which is the principal House he left to his Family.

This Spring gave Birth to Four brave Regiments of Foot, (a new apparition in the *English Horizon*) Fifteen hundred in a Regiment, which were raised, and transported into *Holland*, under Four gallant Colonels; The *Earl of Oxford*, the *Earl of Southampton*, the *Earl of Essex*, and the Lord *Willoughby*, since *Earl of Lindsey*. These four Regiments being well armed and exercised in *Holland*, were ready to march into the Field with *Maurice Prince of Orange*, General of the *States Army*; who having an opposite, the *Marquess Spinola*, as subtle, and more daring than himself, they both lay at the Catch, and their wariness prevented many a Mischief. *Maurice* finding *Spinola* with the *Spanish Army* hankering about *Breda*, either thinking himself not ready enough to encounter him, or not strong enough to Grapple with him, permitted him to work himself within two strong lines of *Circumvallation*, fortified with several *Forts*, and *Redoubts*, notwithstanding that *Breda* was his *Darling Town*, and the Honor of his *Excellency*; And while *Spinola* was thus working, he diverted his *Army* into *Cleveland*, to take in *Cleve Castle*, a poor, and inconsiderable *Place*, which was surrendered to him as soon as he presented his *Cannon* before it; and when he had done that, and *Spinola* had finished his Works, he brought his *Army* to a little *Village* called *Mede*, which was close by *Spinola's Quarters*, and there intrenched himself by his side; But the *Enemy* attended their Work, and would not busie themselves to look after him, being strongly fortified, and the way open for their *Convoys* to bring *Provisions* out of *Flanders*, which went alwaies very strong; and *Prince Maurice* would not go so far out of his way from his *Victual-Ships* to interrupt them, lest he should want *Provisions* for his own *Army*. But his great Design of lodging so near the *Enemy* was to amuse them, that they should bend their Eyes and Thoughts upon him there, and neglect that the more which he aimed at; For he had the Surprising of the strong *Castle at Antwerp* in his *Fancy*, which (he was informed) at that time had but small Force in it; and he was so assured to prevail, that he would have none but the *Dutch* to have the *Honour* of it. But they attempted the *Business* so blunderingly, that they were discovered, and lost their labour. And so with some few little *Bickerings* of small *Parties of Horse*, betwixt the two intrenched *Armies*, the whole *Summer* was shuffled away; And *Winter* approaching, the *Prince* seeing little good to be done there, drew his *Army* to *Rosendale*, and *Sprang*, *Villages* adjacent, where they attended *Opportunities* of doing the *Enemy* mischief. But the *Glory* of *Prince Maurice* began to decay, the loss of this *Town* (which he



he now gave as gone) came so near his Heart, that he went sick from the *Army* to the *Hague*, and never returned to it again,

While these things were in Motion, Truth that comes often with a leaden-foot, brought *News* out of the *East-Indies*, that the year 1622. gave birth to a Mischief of so horrid a countenance (for a private one) that no *Time* or *Age* could *Parallel*. The *Dutch* (while the *English*, their great *Supporters*, were fighting for them at their own doors) grasping at all the *Treasures*, and *Spices* of the *Eastern World*, had not only wormed out the *Spaniards*, and *Portugals*, from many *Islands*, and *Colonies* there, but (unbounded with *Covetousnes* and *Ambition*) strove to hinder their *Neighbours*, and best friends the *English*, from that free *Commerce* with the *Natives* they ever enjoyed, so that many *Bickerings* hapned among them; till the *Controversie* was taken up by publick *Treaty*, and *Stipulation*, agreed on betwixt Our King, and the *States* of the *Netherlands*, in the year one thousand six hundred and nineteen. And according to this agreement, the *English* being as they thought secure, planted their *Factories* among them, where, after they had reaped the fruit of their great danger, and hazard, for some two years with much grumbling, and repining, the *Dutch* began to practise their utter extirpation: Not by a *Massacre*, for that had been a *merciful Mischief*, but by torture (to make their *Cruelty Justice*) in so horrid and savage a manner, as if they had sucked their *Rage* from *Indian Tigers*.

*Amboina* was the bloody *Stage* where they acted this black *Tragedie*; and *Fire*, and *Water*, were their *Engins*; which are ever cruel *Masters* when they get *Power*. For pretending the chief *Agent* Captain *Gabriel Towerson*, and the rest of the *English Factory*, had an intention by the assistance of some few poor *Japoneses* to possess themselves of the *Castle*, and expel the *Dutch* out of the *Island*, they seized upon them, and set their bloody *Engins* a work, having no other *Accusers* but them. The racks extending their *Sinews*, drew them out at length; and the waters which they subtilly forced into their *Mouths*, by their own respiration, and breathing, swelled all their *Bodies* to a huge *Proportion*, making their very eyes ready to bolt out of their *Heads*; and such whose sturdy innocence would not be compelled to accuse themselves, they burned the soles of their feet with candles, till the moisture which dropt from them extinguished the flame, and with those burning instruments made such holes in their sides, that they might see their entrails, yet would not see their innocence. So exquisite were they in their *Devilish Cruelty*, as will be gantly to express what was it then to suffer! Thus having tired the poor

An. Reg. 21.

An. Christi.

1624.

Cruelty at  
Amboina:

The *English*  
accused of  
Treason.



An. Reg. 21.

An. Christi.

1624.

The improbability of the Attempt by the English.

1619

Men with *Tortures*, and they being willing to die quickly, confessed whatsoever their cruel Tormentors would have them say. The *Dutch* having in this *furnace* wrought them to accuse themselves, with their pestilent *formality*, got their *Confessions* under their hands, and so concluded their *Barbarism*, with cutting off some of their heads.

There were not twenty *Englishmen*, nor above thirty *Japoneses* in the whole *Island*, with whom they were said to *machinate* this *Conspiracy*, and the *Castle* had in it two hundred *Dutch Soldiers*, and eight *Ships* riding before it well manned, whereof two of them were above twelve hundred tons a peece, Besides, the *Dutch* had two other *Castles* in the same *Island*; and what *Probability* could there be (if the Plot were as plain as their *Malicious* tongues could make it) that so weak a force should attempt upon so many, having Men enough in the *Ships* and *Castles*, to have devoured the *Attempters*? And if they had effected their work, what would the end have been, but ruin to their *Estates*, and everlasting *Infamy* to their *Memories*? knowing the *Dutch* were by the last agreements to have that *Castle*, confirmed by the King, who hated *Treason* in any Man, with his very Soul. Whereas the Men were of well-known, upright conversation, loathing such baseness, and every man of them with *Christian impressions*, sealed the last *Gasp* of his life with a *Protestation* of his *Innocency*.

Ten of the *English* lost their lives, whereof Captain *Tower*son was one; the rest with racked, burnt, and *Macerated Bodies* were sent out of the *Island* to other *English Plantations*, and so the whole *Factory* was destroyed: The *Dutch* seizing into their hands greedily (which they only *gaped* after) the whole Trade, which they have ever since enjoyed. And to put a fairer *Gloss* upon this mad mischief, nine *Japoneses*, and one *Portugal*, that they would needs have to be *Complotters* with the *English*, were racked (poor men) to the same *Confession*, and then executed; there being more *Horror* in the *examination* of the fault, than in the *Punishment* of it.

This *Cruelty* had made an incurable wound betwixt the two *Nations* (the noise of it giving *Animosity* enough) but that it was new skin'd over, the bloody *Garment* taken off by *Dutch Apologies*, and presented at the *Court* with a *face* of *Justice*. For nothing must come thither but in such attire, as the great *Ones* about the *King* will please to put upon it; who might be wrought to any temper by that *Forge* that could frame such flagitious *Actions*: for they that had *Barbarism* enough to perpetrate the one, had *Baseness* enough to practice the other. But leaving their *Consciences* besmeared with this *Gore*, which they cannot wipe off, but may stick to them yet, *Proceed* to the *Story*.

All



All this while count *Mansfeldt* wanted imployment, and having prepared his way both in *France* and *England*, for gathering an *Army*, he shipt himself in *Zealand*, in the *Speedwel* (a ship of *Our King's*, commanded by Sir *John Chidley*) that was sent expressly for his transport, which in going out, run upon the *Sands*, and was with the violence of foul weather, split in pieces: *Mansfeldt*, and some of his followers, with difficulty escaping in her long *Boat*, got aboard a *Pink* that brought him into *England*; the Captain and the rest of the company attending the *Ships* fate, were swallowed up in the Sea.

An. Reg. 21.

An. Christi.

1624.

*Mansfeldt* goes into *England*.

While *Mansfeldt* remained in *England*, after some few nights he was lodged at Saint *James's* the *Prince's* house, served and attended in great *State*, by some of the *King's* Officers, and feasted by divers of the *Nobility* with much *magnificence*; In which time a *Press* went through the Kingdom, for raising twelve thousand foot, which with some *Cavalry* that *Mansfeldt* expected in *Germany*, and *France*, would make up the *Body* of a considerable *Army*. *Mansfeldt's* design was to go into *Germany*, through *France*, and he had fair *Promises* from thence, not only of admission to pass through the *Country*, but assistance from it. These 12000 were digested into *Six Regiments*. The *Colonels* were the *Earl of Lincoln*, The *Lord Doncaster* eldest Son to the *Earl of Carlile*, The *Lord Cromwel*, Sir *Charles Rich*, Sir *John Burrows* late Governour of *Frankendale*, and *Collonel Grey* a *Scotchman*, that had been an old *German Commander*, one that affected *Buff* in the time of Peace, and wore it in the face of the *Court*; which the *King* seeing him in, and a case of *Pistols* at his girdle (which he never well liked of) he told him merrily, *He was now so fortified, that if he were but well victualled, he would be impregnable*. Two Troops of *Horse* were also raised for this service, the *Earl of Lincoln* had the command of the one, and one *Gunter*, an ordinary *Horse-Rider*, was thought the fittest man to command the other; as if none could command *Horse*, but such as could make them curvet in a *Riding-House*. And the Ignorance of these times shews, that unpractical *Reason* cannot put forth it self to the height, being bound up for want of Exercise; for we set a Valuation and esteem upon *German* and *French Horse*, when (like them) we knew not our own strength, for there are not in the *World* a more gallant *Cavalry*, both for the *Activity* of the *Riders*, and *Ability* of the *Horses*, than may be formed in *England*, as experience hath lately demonstrated.

Forces raised for him.

These being already in *Kent* for Transport about the beginning of *February*, and *Shipping* provided, the *French* began to falter in their *Promises*, (notwithstanding *Our* intimate *Correspondence* by the *Treaty of Marriage* agreed on) pleading many in-

The design ruined.



An. Reg. 20.

An. Christi.

1624.



conveniencies, in the passing of an *Army* through the Country, and the more, because *Our Men* were so unruly in *Kent* (where some of them were tryed by *Marshal-Law*) what would they be then in a strange Country? These being but demurs, not denials, the whole *Army* is *Shipped*; and put over to *Callais*, to wait the *French* leisure, but the charge of Shipping (being above a hundred Sail that attended that service) required more speed, than their faint and sickly *Promises* did expedite: for the *French* dallying with them, and delaying them, happily upon Design (the *Queen* of *France* being then more affected to the *Spanish*, and a less enemy to her blood and kindred, than they have found her since) after a long stay, *Mansfeldt* was forced to leave the hopes of his *French Horse*, and sail with his *Army* into *Zealand*. There the *Soldiers* lay at the *Ramkins* a long time in their *Ships*, not suffered to land: for the *States* not dreaming of such a *Body* of men, could not determine suddenly what to do with them; besides, the *Inland* waters being frozen, *Provisions* would grow short for their own *Army*, much more for them. After some stay in *Zealand*, they sailed up to *Guertenberg* in *Brabant*, which Town being not well provided with *Viaticals*, they were not suffered to land, but continuing on Shipboard, the *Ships* stuffed and pestred with men, wanting *Meat*, and all manner of *Necessaries*, such a *Stench* and *Pestilence* grew among them, that they were thrown into the Sea by multitudes, so that many hundreds (if I may not say thousands) beaten upon Shores, had their bowels eaten out with *Dogs* and *Swine*, to the *Horror* of the *Beholders*. Those bodies that drive up near those Towns where the *English* were, had great pits made for them, wherein (being thrown by heaps) they were cover'd with earth, but upon those shores where they were neglected, (as they were in many parts of *Holland*) a great *Contagion* followed. And of *Mansfeldt's* twelve thousand men, scarce the moiety landed.

The death of  
the Earl of  
Southampton  
and his son.

This Winter Quarter at *Rosendale*, was also fatal to the *Earl* of *Southampton*, and the *Lord Wriothsley* his Son. Being both sick there together, of burning *Feavers*, the violence of which distemper wrought most vigorously upon the heat of youth, overcoming the Son first, and the drooping Father having overcome the feaver, departed from *Rosendale* with an intention to bring his Son's body into *England*, but at *Berghen ap Zome* he dyed of a *Lethargy* in the view and presence of the *Relator*, and were both in one small bark brought to *Southampton*.

And now *Our King* found by dear experience, that the favours he had done the King of *Spain* (in protecting his *Subjects* and *Seas* from being infested and ruined by *Turkish Pirates*, furnishing his *Arsenals*, and giving way to the *Lord Vaux*, and Sir

Edward



Edward Parham, to transport so many *English* into *Flanders* ) tended much to his prejudice. For his *Subjects* in a strange Country by this means fought one against another, which was a kind of an *Un-civil War*; nor was it their voluntary Intention, for the *English* that were shipped for *Flanders*, were tempted over by *Popish* Allurements, not knowing but that they were to go into *Holland*, which made them run away as they got opportunity. But Our King did not live to see how his *Forces* in the *Low-Countries* dwindled to nothing. And the *Result* of all is, that though he were a wise Prince, yet *Blessings* did neither attend his *Counsels* nor *Actions*: So that it is not *humane Wisdom*, but *Divine Directions*, that orders and disposes all things to a good end.

The *Marquess Hamilton* died before Our King; suspected to be poisoned; the *Symptoms* being very *presumptuous*, his head and body swelling to an excessive greatness, the body being all over full of great blisters, with variety of Colours, the hair of his Head, Eye-brows, and Beard, came off being touched, and brought the *Skin* with them; and there was a great *Clamor* of it about the Court, so that *Doctors* were sent to view the *Body*, but the matter was huddled up, and little spoken of it, only *Doctor Eglisham* a *Scotch-man*, was something bitter against the *Duke*, as if he had been the *Author* of it. The *Marquess's* Son had a little before married the *Earl of Denbigh's* Daughter, who was the *Duke of Buckingham's* Niece, and yet this *Tie* could not oblige a friendship betwixt them, because the *Marquess* was averse to the *Marriage*. This *Distance*, and other *Discontents*, occasioned some *rumorous Discourses*, which reflected much upon the *Duke*, but they never broke out in this *King's* time, being bound up close (as it was thought) more by the *Duke's Power* than his *Innocency*.

And not long after him, whether our *King's* care for his *Grand-children*, or the hazard and danger of his own *Person* at home (being ever full of fears) or his ingagement in a War abroad, (being contrary to his very *Nature*) or whether his full feeding and continual use of sweet *Wines*, (which he abundantly affected) set the gross *Humors* a work, or what other *Accident* caused his *Distemper* is uncertain, but he fell sick of a *Tertian Ague*, which is not dangerous in the *Spring* (if we believe the *Proverb*) and had some few fits of it. After which he fell into a *Feaver*, which was too violent for him. A little before his *Death*, he called for the *Prince* his Son, who rising out of his bed, something before day, and presenting himself before him, the *King* rowsed up his *Spirits*, and raised himself up as if he meant to speak to him, but *Nature* being exhausted, he had not *Strength* to express his Intentions, but soon after expired, Being upon *Sunday* morning, the 27. of *March* 1625. at *Theobalds*,  
in

An. Reg. 20.

An. Christi.

1624.

The death of the *Marquess Hamilton*.

The death of the *King*.



An. Reg. 22.

An. Christi.  
1625.The Death of  
Maurice  
Prince of O-  
range 23. Apr.  
1625.The death of  
the Earl of  
Oxford.The different  
Carriage of  
two Princes of  
Orange.

in the nine and fiftieth year of his Age, and the two and twentieth year compleat of his *Reign*. And was buried at *Westminster*, with great *Solemnity* the 7. of *May* following.

Not long after our King's *Death* (as if the *Time*, and *Season*, as well as the *Disease*, were *Epidemical* to *Princes*) old *Maurice* the *Prince of Orange* died; And his *Brother Prince Henry* (being made *General* of the *States Army*) put his *Fortune* into an unhappy *Ballance*, which lost much of the *Weight*. For either valuing his *Soldiers* lives less than his *Brother*, or the loss of so brave a *Town* as *Breda* more, or thinking to spring up with more *Glory* (*Phoenix-like*) from the ashes of his *Brothers funerals* (being recruited with the *Relicks* of *Mansfeldt's Army*) he set upon one of *Spinola's* strong *Works*, at *Terheiden*, either to relieve the *Town*, or beat the *Enemy* out of his *Trenches*; but he failed in both, and lost many gallant Men (especially *English*) in the *Enterprise*. The *Earl of Oxford* having the leading of the *Van* (being a man *Corpulent*, and heavy) got such a sweltring heat in the service, that though he came off without hurt from the enemy, yet he brought *Death* along with him; for he fell sick presently after, went to the *Hague* and there dyed. The other two gallant *Colonels*, *Essex*, and *Willoughby*, survived to command two *English Armies* in a *Civil-War*; *Essex* being *General* for the *Parliament*, and *Willoughby* for the *King*, in *Kinton-field* in *Warwick-shire*; where *Essex* remained *Victor*, the *King* being there in *Person*, and leaving him the *Honour* of the *Field*, his *General Willoughby*, then *Earl of Lindsey*, being slain in the *Battel*. But there will be a long *Tract* of *Time*, and *Discourse*, before these *Armies* incounter, being the first *Cloud* of that fiery *exhalation*, which broke out in the next *King's Reign*, and could not be quenched without the *blood* of many thousands of the *Nation*.

But the different *Carriage* of these two *Sons of Mars*, the two *Brothers*, *Maurice*, and *Henry*, is very observable; Which shall be left to the judgment of the great *Masters* in the *Art* of *War*, whether *Error* were the greater (so apt is the under *World* to spie out great *Mens Errors*) *Maurice*, that had a *Powerful Army* of the *States*, and was reinforced with six thousand *English*, gallant, and resolute men, that would have hugg'd a daring *Enterprise*, yet durst not incounter *Spinola*, when he lay open to his assault, but let him work himself into his *Fastness*, and rather bear the burthen in his own *breast* than disturb him. Or *Henry*, when *Spinola's* *Works* were in full strength, confirmed by time and settled *Order*, the opposite to the confused end he aimed at, to throw so brave part of his *Army* upon eminent destruction? Or is there not a time and *Period* prefixt to earthly things, and the *all-disposing Power* to that *End*, doth either infatuate or establish *Counsels*? This *Town* and



and old *Prince Maurice*, as may be said, were lost together.

But *Our King* that was very much impatient in his *Health*, was patient in his *Sickness*, and *Death*. Whether he had received any thing that extorted his *Aguish Fits* into a *Feaver*, which might the sooner stupifie the *Spirits*, and hasten his end, cannot be asserted; but the *Countess of Buckingham* (who trafficked much with *Mountebanks*, and whose *Fame* had no great *favour*) had been tampering with him, in the absence of the *Doctors*, and had given him a *Medicine* to drink, and laid a *Plaster* to his side, which the King much complained of, and they did rather exasperate his *Distemper* than allay it: and these things were admitted by the insinuating persuasions of the *Duke* her Son, who told the King they were approved *Medicines*, and would do him much good. And though the *Duke* after strove to purge himself for this *Application*, as having received both *Medicine* and *Plaster*, from *Doctor Remington*, at *Dunmow* in *Essex*, who had often cured *Agues*, and such *Distempers* with the same; yet they were *Arguments* of a complicated kind, not easie to unfold; considering that whatsoever he received from the *Doctor* in the *Countrey*, he might apply to the King what he pleased in the *Court*; besides the *Act* it self (though it had been the best *Medicine* in the *World*) was a *Daring* not justifiable; and some of the *King's Physicians* mutter'd against it, others made a great noise, and were forced to fly for it; and though the still voice was quickly silenced by the *Duke's* power, yet the *Clamorous* made so deep impressions that his *Innocence* could never wear them out. And one of *Buckingham's* great provocations was thought to be his fear, that the King being now weary of his too much greatness, and power, would set up *Bristol* his deadly enemy against him, to pull him down. And this *Medicine* was one of those 13 *Articles* that after were laid to his *Charge* in *Parliament*, who may be misinformed, but seldom accuse any upon false *Rumor*, or bare *Suggestion*; and therefore it will be a hard task for any man to excuse the King his *Successor*, for dissolving that *Parliament*, to preserve one thar was accused by them for poisoning his *Father*.

For *Doctor Lamb*, a man of an infamous conversation (having been arraigned for a *Witch*, and found guilty of it at *Worcester*; and arraigned for a *Rape*, and found guilty of it at the *Kings-Bench-Bar* at *Westminster*, yet escaped the stroak of *Justice* for both, by his favour in *Court*) was much employed by the *Mother*, and the *Son*, which generally the people took notice of, and were so incensed against *Lamb*, that finding him in the *Streets* in *London* in the year 1628. they rose against him, and with stones and staves knockt out his *Brains*, as may be more particularly related in its due time.

And besides *Lamb*, there was one *Butler* an *Irishman* (which

An. Reg. 22.

An. Christi.

1625.

The King patient in sickness.

Lamb a Witch.

Butler a Mountebank.



An. Reg. 22.

An. Christi.

1625.

vaunted himself to be of the house of *Ormond*) who was a kind of *Montebank*, which the *Duke* and his *Mother* much confided in. This *Butler* was first an *Apprentice* to a *Cutler* in *London*, and before his time expired quitted his *Master*, having a running head, and went to the *Barmudoes*, where he lived some time, as a *Servant* in the *Island*, and walking by the *Sea-side* with another of his *Companions*, they found a great *Mass* of *Ambergreece*, that the *Seas* bounty had cast up to them, which they willingly concealed, meaning to make their best *Markers* of it. *Butler*, being a subtle *Snap*, wrought so with his *Companion*, with promises of a share, that he got the possession of it, and in the next *Dutch* ship that arrived at the *Barmudoes*, he shipped himself and his *Commodities* for *Amsterdam*, where having sold his *Bargain* at a good *Rate*, and made his credit with his fellow *Venturer* cheap enough, ingrossing all to himself, he came into *England*, lived in a gallant and noble *Equipage*, kept a great and free *Table*, at his lodgings in the *Strand*, which were furnished suitable to his *Mind*, and had his *Coach* with six *Horses*, and many footmen attending on him, with as much *State*, and *Grandure*, as if his *Greatness* had been real: But though his means lasted not to support this long, yet it brought him into great acquaintance, and being *Pragmatical* in tongue, and having an active pate, he fell to some *Distillations*, and other odd extracting practises, which kept him a float, and some men thought he had gotten the (long-dreamed-after) *Philosopher's Stone*; but the best *Recipe* which he had, to maintain his *Greatness* after his *Amber* money fumed and vapoured away, was suspected to come from his friends at *White-Hall*; And the *Story* of his *Death* (if it be true) is one great *Evidence* of some secret *Machination*, betwixt the *Duke* and him, that the *Duke* was willing to be rid of him, For *Mischief*, being an *ingrosser*, is *Unsecure*, and *Unsatisfyed*, *When their Wares* are to be vented in many *Shops*. Therefore he was recommended upon some plausible occasion by the *Duke's* means (as fame delivered it) to some *Jesuits* beyond the *Seas*; where he was entertained with a great deal of *specious Ceremony*, and *Respect*, in one of their *Colledges*, or *Gloisters*; and at *Night* they attending him to his *Chamber* with much *Civility*, the *Chamber* being hang'd with *Tapestry*, and *Tapers* burning in stretcht-out *Arms* upon the *Walls*, and when they gave him the *Goodnight*, they told him they would send one should direct him to his lodging, and they were no sooner out of this *Room* of *Death*, But the floor that hung upon great hinges on one side, was let fall by *Artificial Engines*, and the poor *Vermin Butler*, dropt into a *Precipice*, where he was never more heard of. That there are such secret *Inquisition-Conveyances*, of a horrid Nature, is obvious, and such close contrivances may fly up and down upon the wings



Wings of *Rumor*, but it is impossible to find out the bottom of such black *Pitfalls*, but with as much danger as those that find the bitter effects of them. And this was reported to be the end of *Butler*.

But to conclude with Our King, whom this do concern. He was born a King, and from that height, the less fitted to look into inferiour things; yet few escaped his Knowledge, being, as it were a *Magazine* to retain them. His *Stature* was of the *Middle Size*; rather tall than low, well set and somewhat plump, of a ruddy Complexion, his hair of a light brown, in his full perfection, had at last a Tincture of white. If he had any predominant *Humour* to ballance his *Choler*, it was sanguine, which made his *Mirth Witty*. His Beard was scattering on his Chin, and very thin; and though his Clothes were seldom fashioned to the *Vulgar* garb, yet in the whole man he was not uncomely. He was a King in understanding, and was content to have his Subjects ignorant in many things. As in curing the *Kings-Evil*, which he knew a *Device*, to aggrandize the *Virtue* of Kings, when *Miracles* were in fashion; but he let the World believe it, though he smiled at it, in his own *Reason*, finding the strength of the *Imagination* a more powerful *Agent* in the *Cure*, than the *Plasters* his *Chirurgions* prescribed for the *Sore*. It was a hard *Question*, whether his Wisdom, and knowledge, exceeded his *Choler*, and *Fear*; certainly the last couple drew him with most violence, because they were not acquisitious, but *Natural*; If he had not had that *Allay*, his high touring, and mastering *Reason*, had been of a *Rare*, and sublimed *Excellency*; but these earthy *Dregs* kept it down, making his *Passions* extend him as far as *Prophaness*, that I may not say *Blasphemy*, and *Policy* superintendent of all his *Actions*; which will not last long (like the violence of that *Humour*) for it often makes those that know well, to do ill, and not be able to prevent it.

He had pure *Notions* in *Conception*, but could bring few of them into *Action*, though they tended to his own *Preservation*: For this was one of his *Apothegms*, which he made not timely use of. Let that Prince, that would beware of *Conspiracies*, be rather jealous of such, whom his extraordinary favours have advanced, than of those whom his displeasure hath discontented. These want means to execute their *Pleasures*, but they have means at pleasure to execute their desires. Ambition to rule is more vehement than Malice to revenge. Though the last part of this *Aphorism*, he was thought to practice too soon, where there was no cause for prevention, and neglect too late, when time was full ripe to produce the effect.

Some Parallel'd him to *Tiberius* for *Diffimulation*, yet Peace was maintained by him as in the Time of *Augustus*; And Peace be-

An. Reg. 22.

An. Christi.

1625.

The Description of King James.



An. Reg. 22.

An. Christi.

1625.



got *Plenty*, and *Plenty* begot *Ease* and *Wantonness*, and *Ease* and *Wantonness* begot *Poetry*, and *Poetry* swelled to that *balk* in his time, that it begot strange *Monstrous Satyrs*, against the King's own person, that haunted both *Court*, and *Country*, which expressed, would be too bitter to leave a sweet perfume behind him. And though bitter ingredients are good to imbalm and preserve dead *Bodies*, yet these were such as might indanger to kill a living name, If *Malice* be not brought in with an *Antidote*. And the tongues of those times more fluent than my *Pen*, made every little *miscarriage* (being not able to discover their true Operations, like small seeds hid in earthy *Darkness*) grow up, and spread into such exuberant *branches*, that evil *Report* did often pearch upon them. So dangerous it is for *Princes*, by a *Remiss Comportment*, to give growth to the least *Error*; for it often proves as fruitful as *Malice* can make it.

But alas good King! here was an end of his earthly *Empire*, and little did he imagine that the last *Period* to great *Britain's Monarchy* should not much exceed the time of his own *Reign*, and in the true extent come short of it.

Soli Deo Gloria.

The



## THE CONCLUSION

To the discreet Reader.

**H**AVING now finished (*I will not say perfected*) my little Work of this great King, without prejudice to his Person, or Envy to his Dignity, not having (for filthy lucre sake) any Man in Admiration, and willing to be less than the least in the Times flatuous opinion: *I hope to free my self from that Rigid, censorious Humour, that foams in the mouths of such whom the Venom of Passion hath corrupted, that I may clear the way the better over the Precipices, and prodigious Passages, that will be found in the next King's reign, which to attempt is a Daring inexpressible. For History seldom follows Truth so near the Heels, where a various, and mixed multitude, may either pretend to, or really know more, than one man can well Relate; and where affection, or dislike, to particular men, would willingly cover, or sordidly lay open, those Blemishes, which may besmear, if not quite deface the living Character. yet imprinted in their memories. For though they that write near the Times, are said to write partially, either for Fear, or Friendship; yet they that write Truth, must either do it from private Knowledge or publick Report; and who can know better than they that live near the Times? according to the French Proverb; Ce qu'on voit, est plus certain, que ce qu'on oit; and as Horat. saith, Oculis potius credendum quam auribus. The waters are the purest at the Fountain; they mingle, and gather dross, by running through divers troubled Channells. And as every thing in a clear Spring will be perspicuous, so the soil of Falshood or Mistake (if any be cast into it) will be the more visible. But some may retort the Argument, and say, In troubled fountains the Waters are not so pure as they will be when they are further from the Spring, that time may settle them, and then men will take up that which runs clearest. But nimium altercando Veritas amittitur, Truth may be lost in a crowd. And as all things are not to be spoken, so some things are not to be concealed; for it derogates from the glory of God to have his Justice obscured, his remarkable Dispensations smothered, as if We were angry with what the Divine Power hath done, who can debase the Spirits of Princes, and is mighty among the Kings of the earth. And though the Priests lips should keep knowledge, yet (as the Prophet saith) he can make them contemptible and base before all the people. And therefore why should we grudge and repine at God's Actions? for his thoughts are not as our thoughts, nor his wayes as our wayes. His Judgments should teach us Wisdom, and his glorious proceedings*



should learn us Righteousness, that his Anger may be turned away from us. And let them that stand take heed lest they fall. For though God rewarded Jehu with the Kingdom, for the good service he did him, yet because he walked not with him, God visited the house of Jehu, and laid the blood of Jezreel, which he was commanded to shed, upon the head of his Posterity. But all the Arguments of Men and Angels, will neither penetrate, nor make impression, in some ill-composed Tempers, till they are softened with the fire of Love; and that holy Flame is best kindled with Patience, by willingly submitting to the all-disposing Providence that orders every thing. Before whose Altar (waiting for the Season of Grace) I will ever bring the best fruits of my Labours. But if that which I intend should not come to Perfection (the day of man's life being but as a Dawning, and his time as a Span) I will never be displeased with my Master (in long and dangerous Labours) for calling me away to rest, before my work is done.

**FINIS.**



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